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THE STANDARD.

AN ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURE.

CONFLICT OF NORTHERN AND SOUTHERN THEORIES OF MAN AND SOCIETY.

BY HENRY WARD BEECHER.

THE Eighth Lecture of the Course before the New York Anti-Slavery Society was delivered on Tuesday evening, Jan. 16, at the Tabernacle, by the Rev. HENRY WARD BEECHER, before an immense audience.

There were a number of gentlemen of distinction occupying seats on the rostrum—among whom were the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, James Mott, of Philadelphia, and Mr. Dudley, of Buffalo.

Mr. Beecher was introduced to the audience by Mr. OLIVER JOHNSON, who said:

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN: The speaker who occupied this platform on Tuesday evening last, in the course of his remarks upon the wide degeneracy of the American clergy on the Slavery question, reminded us that there was, in a Brooklyn pulpit, A MAN. We thought you would be glad to see and hear such a *rara avis*, and therefore have besought him to come hither to-night to instruct us by his wisdom and move us by his eloquence. I trust that, whatever you may think of some other parts of the lecture of WENDELL PHILLIPS, you will, when this evening's performance is over, be ready at least to confess that in what he said of the Brooklyn preacher he was not more eulogistic than truthful.

Mr. BEECHER, on presenting himself, was received with loud and hearty applause. He spoke as follows:

The questions which have provoked discussion among us for fifty years past have not been questions of fundamental principles, but of the *application* of principles already ascertained. Our debates have been between one way of doing a thing and another way of doing it—between living well and living better; and so through, it has been a question between good and better. We have discussed Policies, not Principles. In Europe, on the other hand, life-questions have agitated men. The questions of human rights, of the nature and true foundations of Government, are to-day, in Europe, where they were with our fathers in 1630.

In this respect, there is a moral dignity, and even grandeur, in the struggles secretly or openly going on in Italy, Austria, Germany and France, which never can belong to the mere questions of mode and manner which occupy us—boundary questions, banks, tariffs, internal improvements, currency; all very necessary but secondary topics. They touch nothing deeper than the pocket. In this respect, there would be a marked contrast between the subjects which occupy us, and the grander life-themes that dignify European thought, were it not for one subject—*Slavery*. THAT is the ONLY *question, in our day and in our community, full of vital struggles turning upon fundamental principles.*

If slavery were a plantation-question, concerning only the master and the slave, disconnected from us, and isolated—then, though we should regret it, and apply moral forces for its ultimate remedy, yet it would be (as are questions of the same kind in India or South America) remote, constituting a single element in that globe of darkness of which this world is the core, and which Christianity is yet to shine through and change to light. But it *is not* a plantation-question. It is a national question. The disputes implied by the violent relations between the owner and the chattel may only *morally* touch us. But the disputes between the masters and the Government, and between the Government, impregnated with slavery, and the Northern citizen, these touch us sharply, and, if not wisely met, will yet scourge us with thorns! Indeed, I cannot say that I believe that New England and the near North will be affected *locally*, and immediately by an adverse issue of the great national struggle now going on. But the North will be an utterly dead force in the American nation. She will be rolled up in a corner, like a cocoon waiting for its transmigration. The whole North will become provincial; it will be but a fringe to a nation whose heart will beat in the South.

But New England was not raised up by Divine Providence to play a mean part in the world's affairs.

Remember that New England brought to America those principles which every State in the Union has more or less thoroughly adopted.

New England first formed those institutions which liberty requires for beneficent activity; and from her, both before and since the revolution, they have been copied throughout the land. Having given to America its ideas and its institutions, I think the North is bound to stand by them.

Until 1800, the North had distinctive national influence, and gave shape, in due measure, to national *policy*, as she had before to national institutions.

Then she began to recede before the rising of another power. For the last fifty years, upon the national platform have stood arrayed two champions in mortal antagonism—New England and the near North, representing personal freedom, civil liberty, universal education, and a religious spirit which always sympathizes with men more than with Governments.

The New England theory of Government has always been in its element—first, independent men; then democratic townships; next republican States, and, in the end, a Federated Union of Republican States. All her economies, her schools, her policy, her industry, her wealth, her intelligence, have been at agreement with her theory and policy of Government. Yet, New England, strong at home, compact, educated, right-minded, has gradually lost influence, and the whole North with her.

The Southern League of States have been held together by the cohesive power of Common Wrong. Their industry, their policy, their whole interior, vital economy, have been at variance with the apparent principles of their own State Governments, and with the National Institutions under which they exist. They have stood upon a narrow basis, always shaking under them, without general education, without general wealth, without diversified industry. And yet, since the year 1800, they have steadily prevailed against Representative New England and the North. The South, the truest representation of Absolutism under republican forms, is mightier in our National Councils and Policy to-day than New England, the mother and representative of true republicanism and the whole free North.

And now it has come to pass that, in the good providence of God, another opportunity has been presented to the whole North to reassert her place and her influence, and to fill the institutions of our country with their original and proper blood. I do not desire that she should arise and put on her beautiful garments, because she is my mother, and your mother; not because her hills were the first which my childhood saw, that has never since beheld any half so dear; nor from any sordid ambition, that she should be great in this world's greatness; nor from any profane wish to abstract from the rightful place and influence of any State, or any section of our whole country. But I think that God sent New England to these shores as his own messenger of mercy to days and ages, that have yet far to come ere they are born! She has not yet told this Continent all that is in her heart. She has sat down like Bunyan's Pilgrim, and slept in the bower by the way, and where she slept she has left her roll—God grant that she hath not lost it there while she slumbered!

By all the love that I bear to the cause of God, and the glory of his Church, by the yearnings which I have for the welfare of the human kind, by all the prophetic expectations which I have of the destiny of this land, God's Almoner of Liberty to the World, I desire to see Old Representative New England, and the affiliated North, rouse up and do their first works.

Is it my excited ear that hears an airy phantasm whispering? or do I hear a solemn voice crying out, "*Arise! Shine! thy light is come, and the glory of the Lord is arisen upon thee!*"

I am quite aware that the subject of slavery has been regarded, by many, as sectional; and the agitation of it in the North needless, and injurious to our peace and the country's welfare. Whatever may have been the evils, the agitation has only come *through* men, not *from* them. It is of God. It is the underheaving of Providence. Mariners might as well blame *you* for the swing and toss of their craft when tides troop in or march out of your harbour, as us, for heaving to that tide which God swells under us. Tides in the ocean and in human affairs are from celestial bodies and celestial beings. The conflict which is going on springs from causes as deep as the foundations of our institutions. It will go on to a crisis; its settlement will be an era in the world's history, either of advance or of decline.

I wish to call your patient attention to the real nature of this contest. It is,

THE CONFLICT BETWEEN NORTHERN THEORIES AND SOUTHERN THEORIES OF MAN AND OF SOCIETY.

There have been, from the earliest period of the world, two different, and oppugnent, doctrines of man—*his place, rights, duties and relations.* And the theory of man is always the starting point of all other theories, systems and Governments which divide the world.

Outside of a Divine and Authoritative Revelation, men have had but one way of estimating the value of man. He was to them simply a creature of time, and to be judged in the scientific method, by his *phenomena*. The Greeks and the Romans had no better way. They did not know enough of his origin, his nature, or his destiny, to bring these into account, in estimating man. Accordingly they could do no better than to study him in his developments and rank him by the POWER which he manifested. Now, if a botanist should describe a biennial plant, whose root and stem belong to one season, whose blossom and fruit belong to another, as if that were the whole of it which the first year produced, he would commit the same mistake which the heathen idea of man commits in measuring and estimating a being whose true life comes hereafter, by the developments which he makes in only this world.

From this earthly side of man springs the most important practical results. For, the doctrine of man, simply as he *is in this life, logically deduces Absolutism and Aristocracy.*

If the *power of producing effects* is the criterion of value, the few will always be the *most* valuable, and the mass, relatively, subordinate, and the weak and lowest will be left helplessly worthless.

And the mass of all the myriads that do live are of no more account than working animals; and there is, on such a theory, no reason, *a priori*, why they should not be controlled by superior men, and made to do that for which they seem the best fitted—Work and Drudgery! Only long experiment could teach a doctrine contrary to the logical presumption arising from weakness. There could be no doctrine of human *rights*. It would be simply a doctrine of human *forces*. *Right* would be a word as much out of place as among birds and beasts. Authority would go with productive greatness, as gravity goes with mass in matter. The whole chance of Right, and the whole theory of Liberty, springs from that part of man that lies beyond this life.

As a material creature, man ranks among physical forces. Rights come from his spiritual nature. The body is of the earth, and returns to earth, and is judged by earthly measures. The soul is of God, and returns to God, and is judged by Divine estimates. And this is the reason why a free, unobstructed Bible always works toward human rights. It is the only basis on which the poor, the ignorant, the weak, the labouring masses can entrench against oppression.

What, then, is that theory of man which Christianity gives forth?

It regards man not as a perfect thing, put into life to blossom and die, as a perfect flower doth. Man is a *seed*, and birth is *planting*. He is in life for cultivation, not exhibition; he is here chiefly to be *acted on*, not to be characteristically an agent. For, though man is also an actor, he is yet more a recipient. Though he produces effects, he receives a thousand-fold more than he produces. And he is to be estimated by his capacity of receiving, not of doing. *He has his least value in what he can* DO; *it all lies in what he is capable of having done* TO *him.* The eye, the ear, the tongue, the nerve of touch, are all simple receivers. The understanding, the affections, the moral sentiments, all, are, primarily and characteristically, recipients of influence; and only secondarily agents. Now, how different is the value of ore, dead in its silent waiting-places, from the wrought blade, the all but living engine, and the carved and curious utensil!

Of how little value is a ship standing helpless on the stocks—but half-built, and yet building—to one who has no knowledge of the ocean, or of what that helpless hulk will become the moment she slides into her element, and rises and falls upon the flood with joyous greeting!

The value of an acorn is not what it is, but what it shall be when nature has brooded it, and brought it up, and a hundred years have sung through its branches and left their strength there!

He, then, that judges man by what he can do, judges him in the seed. We must see him through some lenses—we must prefigure his *immortality*. While, then, his *industrial* value in life must depend on what he can do, we have here the beginning of a *moral* value which bears no relation to his *power*, but to his future destiny.

This view assumes distinctness and intensity, when we add to it the relationship which subsists between man and his Maker.

This relationship begins in the fact that we are created in the divine image; that we are connected with God, therefore, not by Government alone, but by nature.

This initial truth is made radiant with meaning, by the teaching of Christianity that every human being is dear to God; a teaching which stands upon that platform, built high above all human deeds and histories, the advent, incarnation, passion, and death of Christ, as a Saviour of Men.

The race is a brotherhood; God is the Father, Love is the law of this great human commonwealth, and Love knows no servitude. It is that which gilds with liberty whatever it touches.

One more element to human liberty is contributed by Christianity, in the solemn development of man's accountability to God, by which condition hereafter springs from character here.

However heavy that saying is, every one of us shall *give an account of himself* before God—in it is the life of the race.

You cannot present man as a subject of Divine government, held responsible for results, compared with which the most momentous earthly deeds are insignificant, plied with influences accumulating from eternity, and by powers which, though they begin on earth in the cradle, gentle as a mother's voice singing lullaby, go on upward, taking everything as they go, till they reach the whole power of God; and working out results that outlast time and the sun, and revolve forever in flaming circuits of disaster, or in sacred circles of celestial bliss; you cannot present man as the centre and subject of such an august and eternal drama, without giving him something of the grandeur which resides in God himself, and in the spheres of immortality!

Who shall trifle with such a creature, full bound upon such an errand through life, and swelling forth to such a destiny? Clear the place where he stands!—give him room and help, but no hinderance, as he equips for eternity!—loosen the bonds of man, for God girds him!—take off all impediments, for it is his life and death struggle for immortality!

That this effect of accountability to God was felt by the inspired writers, cannot be doubted to any who weigh such language as this:

"So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God. Let us not, therefore, judge one another any more, *but judge this rather, that no man put a stumbling-block, or an occasion to fall in his brother's way.*"

By making man important in the sight of God, he becomes sacred to his fellow. The more grand and far-reaching are the divine claims, the greater is our conception of the scope and worth of being. Human rights become respected in the ratio in which human responsibility is felt. Whatever objections men may hold to Puritanism—their theory since the days of St. Augustin has constantly produced tendencies to liberty and a prevalent belief in the natural *right of man*—and on account of that very feature which, to many, has been so offensive—its rigourous doctrine of human accountability. Here, then, is the idea of man which Christianity gives in contrast with the inferior and degrading heathen notions of man. He is a being but *begun* on earth—a seed only planted here for its first growth. He is connected with God, not as all matter is, by proceeding from creative power, but by partaking the divine nature, by the declared personal affection of God, witnessed and sealed by the presence and sufferings of the world's Redeemer. He is a being upon whom is rolled the responsibility of character and eternal destiny! Of such a creature it were as foolish to take an estimate, by what he *is*, and what he can *do* in this life, as it would be to estimate by an eagle's egg, what the old eagle shall be worth, with wings outspread far above the very thunder, or coming down upon its quarry as the thunder comes! It is the Future that gives value to the Present. It is Immortality only that reaches down a measure wherewith to guage a man. If a heathen measures, the strong are strong, and the weak are weak: the rich, the favoured, must rule, and their shadow must dwarf all others. If a Christian measures, he hears a voice saying: "*There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for ye are all one in Christ Jesus.*" "Whosoever shall do the will of my Father, which is in heaven, the same is my mother, and sister, and brother."

These are the things that give value to man.

It is not to be said that there is no difference between men; that one is not more powerful than another; that one is not richer in genius than another; that one is not more valuable *to society* than another; that education, refinement, skill, experience give no precedence over their negatives. But God takes up the *least* of all human creatures, and declares, "inasmuch as ye have done it unto the *least of these*, ye have done it unto me." In a household, a babe is vastly less than the grown-up children. But who dare touch it, as if it were as worthless as it is weak?

So God pleads his own relationship to the meanest human creature, as his protection from wrong; as the evidence of his rights, as the reason of his dignity! There is something of God in the meanest creature. Therefore is he sacred from injury! In these truths we find the reason why Christianity always takes *hold so low down* in human life. Things that have got their root need little from the gardener; but seeds, and tender sprouts, and difficult plants, require and get nurture.

A Christianity that only takes care of the rich, the strong, the governing class, and neglects the poor and ignorant, and unrefined, is the antitype of Christ.

It is in this direction only that the declaration of man's equality is true. No heathen nation could say that "all men are born free and equal"—for in mere earthly respects it is false. It is a truth that stands only and firmly in those grand relations which man sustains *to God, to eternity, and to future dignity.* Man is ungrown. All his fruit is green. If he must stand by what *he is*, how surely must he be given over to weakness, to abuse, to oppressions. The weak are a natural prey to the strong, and superiority is a charter for tyranny.

But if he be an heir, waiting for an inheritance of God, eternal in the heavens, woe be to him that dare lay a finger on him because he is a minor!

I dwell the longer upon this view because it carries the world's heart in it. We must deepen our thinkings of man, and bore for the springs of liberty far below the drainings of surface strata, down deep, Artesian, till we strike something that shall be beyond winter or summer, frost or drought.

I do not believe that the doctrines of individual rights nor of civil liberty can stand outside of Christianity. They are, sure, to be revealed in nature, but there is none to interpret them with authority. Christ is the World's Emancipator, for he hath declared that men belong to *Him*; and an oppressor thus becomes a felon, a robber, a wronger of God, in the person of every poor and wretched victim!

A Christianity that tells man what his origin is—of God; his destiny, to God again; his errand on earth, to grow toward goodness, and make the most of himself—this Christianity is rank rebellion in despotisms, and insurrection on plantations. It cannot be preached there.

These two radical theories of man—man a physical creature to be judged by effects produced in Time; or man, a spiritual creature, to be judged by the development to which he is destined, are at the root of all the antagonisms between the spirit of Northern institutions and of Southern institutions; Northern policy and Southern policy. In the North, it is the public sentiment of the people, that all men are born free and equal; that every man has an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, forfeited only by *crime*. The North believe that personal and political liberty are not only the *rights* of man, but their *necessity*, that man cannot thrive or develop, with the true proportions of manhood, without liberty. It is the Northern sentiment that a man must be prepared for liberty, and that the act of *birth* is that preparation; that no creature lives which is the better for oppression, and who will not be the better for freedom, which is the natural air appointed for the soul's breathing. The North disdains every pretence that men are injured by sudden liberty. A famished man may injure himself by over-feeding; but that is, an argument not against food, but against famine. It is the Northern sentiment, and justly deduced from the Christian theory of man, that society should redeem all its own children from ignorance, should secure their growth, equip them for citizenship, and make all the influences of society enure to the benefit of the mass of men. The Southern sentiment is the reverse of this. It holds that all men are not born free and equal; that men have not an inalienable right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; and that men are not in their very constitution fitted for liberty, and benefited by it. They hold that liberty is an attribute of power; that it is a blossom, which belongs to *races*, and not to mankind; that a part were born to rule, and a part were ordained to serve; that liberty is dangerous to the many; that servitude the most rigorous is a blessing; that it accords with the creative intent of God, and with his revealed institutions; that a nation cannot be homogeneous, and should not aim at it; that there is a law and scale of gradation, on which the top is privilege and authority, the bottom labour and obedience. *These are the radical theories of the respective sections of the land.*

Men often are profoundly ignorant of the principles which control their policy, as a ship is unconscious of the rudder that steers her. Many are found, both North and South, whose conduct overrules their theory, and who are better or worse than their belief. There are Southern men who are more generous than their theory, and there are Northern men who are grossly untrue to the Northern theory. There are Southern men with Northern consciences, and there are Northern men with Southern consciences. But, in the main, these respective theories secretly reign and regulate public procedure. There is not a man so poor in the North, or so ignorant, or so useless, as not to be regarded as a Man by religion, by civil law, and by public opinion. Selfishness and pride, avarice and cunning, anger or lust, may prey upon the heedlessness or helplessness of many. Society may be full of evils. But all these things are not sequences of Northern doctrines, but violations of them. If sharks in great cities consume the too credulous emigrant; if usurers, like moths, cut the fabric of life with invisible teeth; if landlords sack their tenements and pinch the tenant—all these results are against the spirit of our law, against public feeling, and they that do such things must slink and burrow. They are vermin that run in the walls, and peep from hiding-holes, and we set traps for them as we do for rats or weazels. But, in the South, the subordination of man to man, in his earnings, his skill, his time and labour—in his person, his affections, his very children—is a part of the theory of society drawn out into explicit statuary law, coincident with public opinion, and executed without secrecy. A net spread for those guilty of such wrongs against man, would catch States, and Legislatures, citizens, Courts, and Constitutions!

In the North, the most useless pauper that burdens the Alms-House—the most uncombed foreigner that delves in a ditch—the most abject creature that begs a morsel from door to door, *is yet a man*; and there is, not in theory only, but in the public sentiment, a sacredness of rights, which no man, except by stealth, can violate with impunity. There is no other law for the Governor of New York, or of Massachusetts, than for the beggar in your streets. That which protects the dwelling and the property of the rich man, belongs just as much to the hovel of the beggar. God sends but one sun, and it is the same light that kindles against the roof of a mansion, that dawns upon the thatch of a hut. The same air comes to each, the same showers, the same seasons, summer and winter. And as is Nature, so, in the North, are law, and the distributive benefits of society. They bathe society from top to bottom! The rich, the learned, the refined, the strong, may know how to make a better use of the air, but they have no more air of privilege to breathe than the poorest wretch.

In the South, exactly the reverse is true, not by stealth, not by neglect of a recognised principle, but as the result of men's ideas, and by organized arrangements. Touch a hireling's wages, in the North, and the Law stands to defend him and beat you down! Take the labourer's wages in the South, and the law stands to defend you, and beat him down.

Beat a man, in the North, for a private wrong done, and the law will strike you. But in the South, it is the right of the white, unquestioned and unquestionable, to beat every third person in the community.

Let the proudest mill-owner break but the skin of the poorest operative in Lowell or Lawrence, and both law and public sentiment, alike, would grasp and punish him!

But in the South, the law refuses to look at any degree of cruelty in chastisements upon the universal labourer, short of maiming or death, and public sentiment is but little better than the law.

The labourer in the North answers to a tribunal; in the South to a master, incensed, passionate, vindictive in justice where it is to be executed upon symptoms of manhood!

In the North, nothing is more sacred than a man's family and his children. It would not be possible for a man to do public violence to a family circle without vindictive penalty. Let him separate a mother from her daughters, let him employ a hireling ruffian to carry off the boys into the country and parcel them out there—let him scatter the flocks, and leave the children motherless, and the parents childless, and what do you think would become of *him*?

In the South, it is a part of the civil rights of men to do these things whenever they please. And though public sentiment is better than law, yet as no public sentiment on earth is a match for legalized lust, or avarice, or the grip of misfortune, these things are continually done, and remorselessly. Cruelty, chastity, virtue, do not mean the same things in the South as in the North. A man is not blemished by deeds and indulgences, upon a plantation, among slaves, which in the North, would strike him through with infamy and house him in the penitentiary!

In the South, there are many roads leading from the top of society to the bottom, but not *one*, not ONE from the bottom to the top.

In the North, if the citizen chooses to walk in *at the rear of a rocket, he may knock at any man's door* up to the Governor's chair or the Presidential seat!

It needs no words, now, to convince you that out of such different theories of Man, there will exist, in the North and in the South respectively, extremely different ideas of Society, Government and Public Policy.

In the North, first in order of consideration is man, the individual man; next the family made up of those of common blood, and by far the strongest, as it is the most sacred of all institutions. Then come the township, which presents the only spectacle of an absolute political democracy. For, here only do citizens assemble in mass and vote directly and not by representation. Next comes Society at large, or the mass of citizens grouped into States. And in society, in the North, there are no classes except such as arise out of spontaneous forces. Wealth, experience, ability set men above their fellows. There they stand as long as there is a *real* superiority. But they stand there not by legal force, nor to exercise any legal power, or to have one single privilege or prerogative which does not belong just as much to every citizen clear down to the bottom. All that a class *means* in the North is, that when men have shown themselves strong and wise, men give them honour for it. Death levels it all down again. Their children inherit nothing. They must earn for themselves. There is no division of society into orders, by which some have privilege and some have not, some have opportunity and advantage which others have not.

In the South, society is divided into two great and prominent classes, the ruling and the obeying—the thinking and the working. The labour of the South is performed by three million creatures who represent the heathen idea of man.

All the benefits that have accrued to man from Christianity are appropriated and monopolized by the white population.

Here is a seam that no sophistry can sew up. Here is a society organized, not on an idea of equal rights, and of inequalities only as they spring from difference of worth, but on an idea of permanent, political, organized inequality among men. They carry it so far that the theory of Slave law regards the slave not as an inferior man, governed, for his own good as well as for the benefit of the society at large, but it pronounces him, in reiterated forms, not a man at all, but a chattel. In the North, the Law is level, and all men alike stand on it. They may shoot up by the head as high as they please, but they must stand on a common level at their feet. The South has no level. It puts men on different levels of law and prerogative.

When a community of States, by the most potential voice of Law, says to the whole body of its labouring population, ye are not *men* and shall not be; ye are chattels—it is absurd to speak about kind treatment—about happiness. It is about cattle that they are talking! Our vast body of labouring men do not yet feel the force of such a theory of human society. But, if that political system, which has openly been making such prodigious strides for the last fifty years, and effecting, secretly, a yet greater change in men's ideas of society and government, shall gain complete ascendancy, they, in their turn, and in due time, will know and see the difference between a Republican Democracy and a Republican Aristocracy!

Out of such original and radical differences there must flow a perpetual contrast and opposition of policies and procedures, in the operation of society and of business. We will select but a few, of many, subjects of contrast, Work, Education, Freedom of Speech and of the Press, and Religion.

I. WORK. Among us, and from the beginning, Work has been honourable. It has been honourable to dig, to hew, to build, to reap, to wield the hammer at the forge, and the saw at the bench. It has been honourable because our people have been taught that each man is set to make the most of himself. The crown for every victory gained in a struggle of skill or industry over matter is placed upon the soul; and thus among a free people industry becomes education.

It is the peculiarity of Northern labour that it *thinks*. It is Intelligence working out through the hands. There is more real thought in a Yankee's hand than in a Southerner's head. This is not true of a class, or of single individuals, or of single States. It pervades the air. It is Northern public sentiment. It springs from our ideas of manhood. These influences, acting through generations, have been wrought into the very blood. It is in the stock. Go where you will, a Yankee is a working creature. He is the honey-bee of mankind. Only Work is royal among us. It carries the sceptre, and changes all nature by its touch, opening its treasures and disclosing its secrets.

But with all this industry, you shall find nowhere on earth so little *drudging* work as in the North. It is not the servitude of the hands to material nature. It is the glorious exercise of mind upon nature.

In California, gold is found in quartz formations. But, in New England, and the free inventive North, in the geology of industry, gold is found everywhere—in rye straw and bonnets, in leather and shoes, in wool, felts and cloths; in wood, in stone, and in very ice. It is wrapped up in the beggar's raiment, which unroll in our mills into paper—yesterday, a beggar's feculent rags; to-day, a newspaper, conveying the world's daily life into twenty thousand families. And so great are the achievements of labour that everybody honours it. It stands among us as an invisible dignity. Four spirits there are that rule in New England—religion, social virtue, intelligence, and *work*; and this last takes something from them all, and is their physical exponent. So that not only is work honoured and honourable, but the want of it is an implied discredit. The presumption is always against a man who does not labour.

In the South, the very reverse is true, as a general proposition.

It is true, because labour is the peculiar badge of slavery. It does not stand, as with us, a symbol of intelligence, but a symbol of stupid servitude. It is the business of those whom the law puts out of the pale of society and accounts chattels, and who, by the opinion of society, are at the bottom, and under the feet of respectable men. To work is, therefore, *prima facie* evidence of degradation. It is ranking oneself with a slave by doing a slave's tasks; as eating a beggar's crust with him would be a beggar's fellowship.

But this is not the whole reason, nor the chiefest and more potent reason, of the difference between public feeling about WORK North and South.

The theory of Man in the South does not inspire any such tendency. Men are judged there not by what they are and are to be, but by what they *can now do*. Only such things as have an echo in them, that reverberate in the ear of public opinion, that produce an effect of notice, honour, advancement *in the* OPINIONS of men, are relished. In the North, men are educated to *be* something—in the South to *seem* something. The North tends to *doing*—the South to *appearing*. And both tendencies spring from the root of opposite theories of Man and of Society.

And it is this innate, hereditary indisposition to work that, after all, is the greatest obstacle to emancipation. Laziness in the South and money in the North are the bulwarks of Slavery! To take away a planter's slaves is to cut off his hands. There is where he keeps his work. There is none of it in himself. And it is this, too, which leads to the contempt which southern people feel for northern men. They are working men, and work is flavoured to the Southerner with ideas of ignominy, of meanness, of vulgar lowness. Neither can they understand how a man who works all his life long can be high-minded and generous, intelligent and refined.

Not only is there this contrast in the dignity of work, but even more—*in the rights of industry.* Work, in the North, has responsibilities that are prodigious educators. We ordain that a man shall have the fullest chance, and then he shall have the results of his activity. He shall take all he can make, or he shall take the whole result of *indolence*. It is a double education. It inspires labour by hope of fruition, and intensifies it by the fear of non-fruition. The South have their whole body of labourers at work without either responsibility. They cut it off at both ends. They virtually say to the slave, in reality, "*Be lazy*, for all that you earn shall do you no good; be lazy, for when you are old and helpless, we are bound to take care of you."

It is this apparent care for the helplessness of slaves that has won the favour of many northern men, and of some who ought to have known better the effect of taking off from men the responsibility of labour. Once declare in New York that Government would take care of poverty and old age, so as to make them honourable, and it would be a premium upon improvidence. With us, it is expected that every man will work, will earn, will lay up, will deliver his family from public charity. There is, to be sure, an Alms-House to catch all who, by misfortune or improvidence, fall through. But such is the public opinion in favour of personal independence springing from industry, that a native-born American citizen had rather die than go to an Alms-House. Foreigners are our staple paupers. Our charity feeds the poor wretches whom foreign slavery has crippled and cast upon us. But the whole South is a vast work-house for the slave while young, and a vast alms-house for him when old, and neither young or old is he permitted to feel the proper responsibility of labour. And this, too, explains the *apparent* advantage which the South has over the North in the matter of pauperism and distress. The northern system intends to punish those who will not work. It is not a system calculated for slaves nor for lazy men. If indolence comes under it, it will take the penalty of not working. And nowhere else in the world is the penalty of indolence, and even of shiftlessness, so terrible as in the North, as nowhere else is the remuneration of a virtuous industry so ample and so widely diffused.

II. There is just as marked a contrast upon the subject of education, and especially of Common Schools. In the North we have COMMON Schools. This is more than a school. It is more than a public school. It is a *Common* School, in distinction from a *select* or class school. It is a public provision for bringing together, upon a perfect equality, the children of the rich and the poor, the noble and the ignoble, the high and the low. It is a provision of our institutions, by which every generation is led to a line and made to start equal and together. There will be inequality enough as soon as men get into life. Some shoot ahead; some, like dull sailors in a fleet, are dropped behind, and men are scattered all along the ocean. But the *Common* School gathers up their children and brings them all back again to take a new start together. Thus our schools are not mere whet-stones to the intellect. They are institutions for evening up society. They resist the tendency to separation into classes, which grows with the prosperity of a community; they bind together, in cordial sympathy, all classes of citizens. For, nothing is more tenacious than school-day remembrances, and the last things that we forget are playmates and schoolmates.

The South may have schools. But never *Common* Schools. The South has no *common* people. There can be States, there, but never *Commonwealths*. There is no *common* ground, where the theory of society grades men upon a perpendicular scale. It is a society of *classes*, and a society of *classes* can never be a *community*. When the whole labour of a State is performed by a degraded class, that are not included in the State as citizens of social beings, it is impossible but that the class next above them should feel the force of those theories and ideas which have produced such a state of things. It is so. The poor white population of the South is degraded. They are ignorant—they are not fertile in thought or labour. They are not so low as the slaves, nor so high as those who own slaves. There are three classes—the top, the middle and the bottom; and two of these, the top and bottom, being fixed and legal, the middle is modified by them both.

In such a Society, there cannot be a *Common School*, in any such sense as we mean it. Indeed, there cannot be *general education* in any State where ignorance is the legal condition of one-half the population, as is the case in many Southern States. Ignorance is an institution in the South. It is a political necessity. It is as much provided for by legislation and by public sentiment, and guarded by enactments, as intelligence is in the North. It must be so. The restrictions which keep it from the slave will keep it from the whites, excepting, always, the few who live at the top. There cannot be an atmosphere of intelligence. Slaves would be in danger of breathing that. There cannot be a common public sentiment, a common school, nor common education. Knowledge is power not only, but powder, putting the South in the risk of being blown up, by careless handling and too great abundance.

III. Closely connected with this, and springing from the same causes, is a contrast between the North and the South, in respect to free speech and open discussion by lip and by type.

The theory of the North is, that every man has the right, on every subject, to the freest expression of his opinions, and the fullest right to urge them upon the convictions of others. It is not a permission of law; it is the inherent right of the individual. Law is only to protect the citizen in the use of that right.

It is the theory of the North that society is as much a gainer by this freedom of discussion as is the individual.

It is a perpetual education of the people, and a safeguard to the State. There is the utmost latitude of speech and discussion among our citizens. The attempt to abridge it would be so infatuated that the most dignified Court that ever sat in Boston would become an object of universal merriment and ridicule, should it presume to arrest and cause to be indicted any man for free speaking in old Faneuil Hall! Merriment, I say, for who would not laugh at a philosopher who should set snares for the stars, and fix his net to catch the sun, and regulate their indiscreet shining? Darkness and silence are excellent for knaves and tyrants; but the attempt to command the one or other in the North changes the knave to an imbecile and the tyrant to a fool.

But, *should* any power, against the precedents of the past, the spirit of our people, the theory of our civil policy and the rights of individual man, succeed, and make headway against free speech, and put it in jeopardy, the deed would convulse the very frame work of society. There would be no time for a revolution—there would be an *eruption*, and fragmentary Judges, Courts and their minions would fly upward athwart the sky, like stones and balls of flame driven from the vomiting crater of a furious volcano! No. This is a right like the right of breathing. This is a liberty that broods upon us like the atmosphere. The grand American doctrine that men may speak what they think, and may print what they speak—that all public measures shall have free public discussion—cannot be shaken; and any party must be intensely American that can afford to destroy the very foundation American principle that public questions shall be publicly discussed, and public procedure be publicly agreed upon. Right always gains in the light, and Wrong in the dark. An owl is better than an eagle in the night!

The South, holding a heathen theory of man—an aristocratic theory of society—is bound to hold, and does hold, a radically opposite practice in respect to rights of speech and freedom of the press.

There is not freedom of opinion in the South, and there cannot be.

To be sure, men may talk freely of a thousand things—of all religious doctrines, of literature, of art, of public political measures—but no man has liberty to talk as he pleases about the structure of Southern society, and apply to the real facts of Southern life and Southern internal questions that searching investigation and public exposure which, in the North, brings every possible question to the bar of public opinion, and makes society boil like a pot! Freedom of speech in the South is the liberty of talking on only one side. It is the liberty of agreeing with those who govern—a right which, we believe, even the imperial Czar accords!

Yes, you may speak of slavery, if you will defend it; you may preach about it, if you shingle its roof with Scripture texts; but you may not talk, nor preach, nor print abolition doctrines, though you believe them with the intensity of inspiration!

The response given is, that it will stir up insurrection. And so it will. It is said that free speech is inflammatory. So it is. That it would bring every man's life in the South into jeopardy; that, in self-defence, men in power must limit and regulate the expression of opinion. But what is that theory of Government, and what is that state of society under it, in which free speech and free discussion are dangerous? It is the boast of the North, not alone that speech and discussion are free, but that we have a society constructed in every part so rarely, wisely, and justly, that they can *endure* free speech. Our policy and our institutions are such that we do not fear the file. It will only polish, not cut through. We turn out any law, and say, *Discuss it!* that it may be the stronger! We challenge scrutiny for our industry, for our commerce, for our social customs, for our municipal affairs, for our State questions, for all that we believe, and all that we do, and everything that we build. We are not in haste to be born in respect to any feature of life. We say—probe it, question it, put fire to it. We ask the *experience of the past* to sit and try it. We ask the ripest *wisdom of the present* to test and analyze it. We ask enemies to plead all they know against it. We challenge the whole world of ideas, and the great deep of human interests, to come up upon any anything that belongs, or is *to* belong, to public affairs. And then, when a truth, a policy, or a procedure comes to birth, from out of the womb of such discussion, we know that it will stand. And when our whole public interests are rounded out and built up, we are glad to see men going around and about, marking well our towers, and counting our bulwarks. May it do them good to see such architecture and engineering! And it is just this difference that distinguishes the North and the South. We have institutions that will stand public and private discussion—they have not. We will not *have* a law, or custom, or economy, which cannot be defended against the freest inquiry. Such a rule would cut the South level as a mowed meadow! They live in a crater, forever dreading the signs of activity. They live in a powder magazine. No wonder they fear light and fire. Their plea has been the plea of Wrong since the world began. Discussion would unseat the Czar; a free press would dethrone the ignoble Napoleon; free speech would revolutionize Rome. Freedom of thought and freedom of expression! they are mighty champions, that go with unsheathed swords the world over, to redress the weak, to right the wronged, to pull down evil and build up good. And a State that will be damaged by free speech ought to be damaged. A King that cannot keep his seat before free speech ought to be unseated. An order or an institution that dreads freedom of the press has *reason* to dread it. If the South would be revolutionized by free discussion, how intensely does that fact show her dying need of revolution! She is a dungeon, full of damps and death air. She needs light and ventilation. And their only objection is, that if there were light and air let in, it would no longer be a dungeon!

IV. There is a noticeable contrast between Northern and Southern ideas of Religion.

We believe God's revealed word to contain the influence appointed for the regeneration and full development of every human being; that it is to be employed as God's universal stimulant to the human soul, as air and light are the universal stimulants of vegetation; and that the power of religion is to be employed directly for the conversion, and then, intensely, for the education and full development, of every human creature. In the North, this *is*, to a great degree, the function of religion.

We preach it to arouse the whole soul; we preach it to fire the intellect, and give it wings by which to compass knowledge; we preach it to touch every feeling with refinement, to soften rudenesses and enrich affections; we build the family with it; we sanctify love and purge out lust; we polish every relation of life; we inspire a cheerful industry and whet the edge of enterprise, and then limit them by the bounds of justice and by the moderation of a faith which looks into the future and the eternal. We teach each man that he is a child of God, that he is personally one for whom the Saviour died; we teach him that he is known and spoken of in heaven, his name called; that angels are sent out upon his path to guard and educate him; we swell within him to the uttermost every aspiration, catching the first flame of youth and feeding it, until the whole heart glows like an altar, and the soul is a temple bright within, and sweet, by the incense-smoke and aspiring flame of perpetual offerings and divine sacrifices. We have never done with him. We lead him from the cradle to boyhood; we take him thence into manhood, and guide him through all its passes: we console him in age, and then stand, as he dies, to prophesy the coming heaven, until the fading eye flashes again, and the unhearing ear is full again; for, from the other side, ministers of grace are coming, and he beholds them! Sounds on earth and sights are not so much lost as swallowed up in the glory and the melody of the heavenly joy!

Now, tell me whether there is any such preaching of the Gospel to the slave, or whether there can be, and he yet remain a slave? We preach the Gospel to arouse men, they of the South to subdue them; we to awaken, they soothe; we to inspire self-reliance, they submission; we to drive them forward in growth, they to repress and

National Anti-Slavery Standard.

WITHOUT CONCEALMENT—WITHOUT COMPROMISE.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JAN. 27, 1855.

THE TWENTY-FIRST NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR.

THE condition of the slave population of this country is one that cannot stir too deeply the depths of every human heart; but it should so stir them that the result should not be mere passionate emotion, but an abiding conviction of duty. For, in the long warfare which the Abolitionist must wage, its continuance known to Omnipotence only, it is in such conviction alone that effectual support can be found. When we have arrived at the knowledge that we have very little to do with the question of slavery except as a matter of personal or individual concern, we have gone far towards simplifying the problem of the extent of the claims of our own conscientious obligations. It need not be our first or most important query, what the nation should do, or what Congress should do, or what the Church should do; but, having made that dread appeal, always recognised and answered alike by conscience and the Creator of conscience, "Lord, what wilt thou have *me* to do?" we shall find sufficient light shining around us to indicate plainly our individual course. If we have, in reality, no fellowship with such an unfruitful work of darkness as is slavery, we shall not pretend to have, but shall make ourselves free from every organization, civil or ecclesiastical, that lends it support or countenance. Though in the battle of the Dictionaries we take part on the conservative side, we must, for once, separate our practice from our precept; and though the word "Come-outer" may never have been baptized in "the pure well of English undefiled," we shall adopt it promptly into our vocabulary when it expresses the act of secession from a Government that is barbarous, and a Church that is Anti-Christ.

While accepting this as their rule of duty, the Abolitionists can afford to wait and be patient. Having performed *their* part, they may safely trust to those righteous laws that govern the moral universe. Just in proportion as they carry their principles into daily and uncompromising practice, shall they see the glorious and fondly hoped-for results. We all testify, in words, to the mighty power of Truth; and yet how long a time elapses before the statement becomes an entire reality, even to ourselves! We apprehend the idea so dimly, we grasp it so imperfectly. We declare, in the trite and beautiful lines of Bryant—trite because beautiful—

> "Truth, crushed to earth, shall rise again,"
> The eternal years of God are hers";

and yet our hearts die within us when we see the city of the Pilgrims give back ANTHONY BURNS to the lingering tortures of a North Carolina plantation; and we are tempted almost to forget that overruling Providence which can make not only the wrath of man, but his cruelty, and avarice, and cowardice, and low ambition, and selfish weakness, instrumental in its unfolding of Justice and Mercy. It is because a full solution of this problem is reserved to the "eternal years" that we are so fearful and faithless. In reality, the moral laws of the Creator are as sure and steadfast as are its physical ones. But the one are matters of immediate sight, and the others of a faith that must stretch into eternity. The seed that was planted last spring has yielded its harvest. We never doubted that it would be thus, for we were reasoning from the experience of ages. We have seen that seed-time and harvest never cease. Alike in certainty are the laws that govern the spiritual world, but widely diverse in the time occupied for their manifestation. Not only "*magna est veritas*," but "*prevalebit*." Common-place and insufficient as this may sound in the ears of those who have rallied for success upon everything but the simple truth, it will not seem thus to the Abolitionists. Examples might be quoted all over the land, but it is with Boston that we are now to concern ourselves. Her representative, in the person of SAMUEL ELIOT, may vote for the Fugitive Slave bill—ANTHONY BURNS may be carried back into life-long bondage—the man by whose connivance the act was done shall be reelected Mayor of Boston—leading Doctors of Divinity, like Messrs. Lord, Blagden and Adams, shall be seen dishonouring the Christianity they profess, by claiming it as the ally of slavery—and yet our trust in the truth does not fail; for, in the midst of all, we become aware of that awakening of the public conscience, of that softening of the popular heart to which the efforts of the Abolitionists have been so long tending.

The experience of many years has taught us to regard the ANTI-SLAVERY BAZAAR as a sort of moral thermometer, by which the popular temperature on the question of slavery may be in some measure tested. We do not speak of the pecuniary result merely, but include in our observation the number of visitants, the prevailing tone of feeling, the amount of kindly interest, and the desire for information generally, touching the plans and purposes of the Anti-Slavery party.

The Bazaar that has just closed so successfully was opened under some circumstances of anxiety and discouragement. The great pressure in the money market that exists throughout the whole country, unexampled since 1836-7, was at its utmost stringency in this city, and seemed to extend its influence, in one way or another, through every ramification of society. When money is two per cent. a month, people do not feel like lavishing a great deal on articles of mere luxury, and yet one result of this state of things was the flooding of the city with articles of this very character. Great quantities of beautiful goods, forced into the market by the pressure of the times, were selling almost at our very door. Again, not more than half our foreign contributions had reached us. The boxes from Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Milnathorb, London, Bury, Cork and Belfast, had not arrived. They were detained at Liverpool, owing to the unexpected occupation of the Cunard steamers in the Government service of conveying troops to the Crimea—a circumstance so entirely unforeseen as to have precluded any previous arrangement. This little disappointment and annoyance to ourselves, hardly to be mentioned in the face of the terrible facts and experiences of which it is suggestive, forces one train of thought so prominently before us that we trust we may be pardoned for its expression, even though it may seem, for a moment, turning aside from the work directly in hand.

We cannot read letters, received from those who have for years been one with us in labour and conflict in the slave's service, telling us that their diminished contributions this year arise from the claims of their sick and wounded soldiery in the East, and of the widows and orphans at home, without the liveliest emotions of sympathy. We would beg our friends in Great Britain to believe that the heavy weight of care and anxiety now brooding over every hearth-stone in the country is not unshared by us. The ties that exist between nations holding a common language, literature and faith cannot fail to be felt in an hour like the present, more strongly than ever; and it is from our inmost hearts that we would assure our co-labourers across the ocean that, in all their afflictions, we are afflicted.

The Bazaar opened on the morning of Wednesday, December 20th, and was continued through the first day of the new year. The following places in Great Britain were represented at its opening: Bristol, Bridgewater, Dublin, Leeds and Manchester. Nothing could be more beautiful and attractive than most of the articles received from these places. Hardly a useless or untasteful one was to be found. In respect to some species of work, we were in the condition of Oliver. "More" was all that we asked. This was the case in regard to tidies, sofa covers, and other white crochet work, which were all swept from our tables before the close of the second day. We feel that it is due to our Bridgewater friends, whose collection of articles has been for several years previous to the present suspended, to remark particularly on the saleableness and good taste of their selection. Their Honiton lace, together with that on the Bristol table, found ready and appreciating purchasers. The Bristol Box included very beautiful articles from Frenchay, Chatham, Ilsminster and Southampton, and a variety of pretty things, patch work, toys, &c., contributed by the children of St. James's Back Ragged School, the Kingswood Reformatory School, Levins' Mead Boys' Sunday School, Levins' Mead Girls' Daily School, and the Blind Asylum. The pretty baskets from the latter were disposed of at once. Dublin furnished a most elegant and abundant assortment, rich in Affghan blankets, embroidered table covers, papier-maché, bronzes, purses, elegant cushions, the prettiest of smoking caps, ornaments in bog oak, crochet collars, an arbutus wood backgammon board that was greatly liked, and such an immense variety of little articles as we cannot enumerate. We must not omit the valuable contribution of Henry Fearncombe, of Wolverhampton, England, through the Dublin box. It consisted of very handsome and valuable trays, that found ready purchasers. There is one description of goods, however, against which we must caution our kind contributors. We cannot sell children's dresses for anything like their real value. Send us the material *unmade*, and we can do well with it. The printed calico, sent in the Bridgewater box, sold immediately, and would have done so had there been ten times the quantity. But as the dresses rarely fit, a deduction has to be made on that score; and again another, because of the difference of fashion. The Managers have, therefore, come to the conclusion to advise that no more children's dresses be sent, unless it be embroidered dresses for infants, or one of those very elegantly embroidered dresses for children, which, as one of our friends once wittily remarked, "would be sure to fit any child"—meaning that were said dress selected as a gift, any little discrepancies of length or breadth would be easily overlooked or repaired by the grateful recipient.

The Bazaar was enriched by the usual very beautiful collection of water-colour drawings, by some of our British friends, which, though they may not sell at once, offer a great attraction, and are sure to be disposed of at an ultimate profit. The Bristol toys and soap can never come amiss.

The De La Rue box, another contribution from Dublin, consisted, as usual, of articles positively resistless in the potency of their beautiful utility. Imagine the most exquisite little writing desks in the world, crowded with every appropriate convenience; blotting books, note cases, and a great variety of articles that we cannot now stop to mention; and then no one will wonder at the pleasure with which the safe arrival of the De La Rue box is always greeted. The assortment of paper was, likewise, extremely good, and, though as large as usual, was entirely disposed of, and we were obliged to fall back on a little that remained of last year's stock. De La Rue sends us but one unsaleable article. The music books are almost entirely lost. We scarcely sell a single copy Apart from this, we could hardly desire a change in the selection.

The Manchester and Leeds collections, if not quite as large as in some previous years, had lost none of their beauty. Aside from the children's dresses, of which we have spoken, we recollect nothing that was not admirably suited to the state of our market. The papier-maché, which constituted the most attractive portion of the Manchester box, seemed to us, this year, particularly beautiful. In the same box were included several valuable articles from Sheffield, of the electro-plated manufacture, which were very acceptable, and sold readily. So did the door mats and hearth rugs. We trust that the hope entertained by our Manchester friends, of a still farther cooperation from friends of the cause in Sheffield, may not be disappointed. Birkenhead also made itself known to us by a few pretty contributions; and we observed a few articles from a friend in Basingstoke.

In mentioning Leeds, we must not overlook the three very exquisite foot stools, two wrought by Mrs. JOSEPH LUPTON, of Leeds, and one by an unknown hand—the latter on a new species of bead work, and something very pretty and unique. A large quantity of Brookes' thread was a most acceptable gift, that vanished from the table with celerity. Anything of this kind is saleable. Needles, pins, threads, sewing cottons, and any articles of a similar description, sell very readily. We would, in connection with the Leeds donations, return our thanks to Mr. D. SMITH, of Thirsk, for his two beautiful oil paintings, one of which was purchased by Mrs. H. B. STOWE—as was likewise the pretty group of daisies in water colours, by Miss FRANKLAND; and to Mr. HASSE and Mrs. SCHOLFIELD, for their coloured prints, and sketches in water colours. When such contributions remained unsold, they have added much to the beauty of the Bazaar, and will probably sell the next year.

The names of the friends in Great Britain, who have for the last few years stood by the Anti-Slavery Cause so nobly, have become to us indeed "household words." We think of them as personal friends. When the prospect brightens, we know they are rejoicing with us; and when it is overshadowed, we are sure of the comforting influence of their sympathy. So perfect has become their knowledge of our position and its discouragements, that we feel as if they were not merely helpers, but copartners in the great work. It is with a different, but not less intense emotion, that we turn to our fellow-labourers on the Continent. The sense of personal acquaintance and familiarity vanishes. We feel that, in respect to many of our methods of procedure and modes of action, they must be comparatively ignorant, and were there anything personal or local in the object for which our efforts are united, we might indeed fear that difference of country, and race, and language, and education, and habits of thought, might create an insurmountable barrier. But, God be thanked for the one advantage, that the traduced and villified Anti-Slavery Cause possesses in the clear simplicity and perfect beauty of the great principle that underlies the whole enterprise. MAN CANNOT HOLD PROPERTY IN MAN. It is for God alone to say "all souls are mine"—and any doctrine that strikes at the root of this sovereignty, as does American slavery, presents the grossest and most repulsive form of blasphemy. The consequences that flow from the doctrine, that property may be held in man—the abolition of marriage, of the family state, of the rights of conscience, of knowledge, of the Bible, and finally barbarism and the overthrow of Christianity, are simply its legitimate results. Hence, slavery is seen at once, by the unprejudiced eye, as the foe of Human Nature, the violator of those great principles on which all religion and all morality rest. Hence the response that the civilized world is slowly making to the despairing cry that the Abolitionists have raised on behalf of those who cannot even appeal openly to God for assistance, a response which, as it falls upon our ears, fills our hearts with grateful emotion, and teaches us to recognise all who are labouring for the slave as no longer "strangers and foreigners," but brethren and friends.

We are not astonished at the voice of cheer and encouragement that comes to us from France. It comes not as a surprise, but as the fulfilment of a long standing promise. We had reason indeed to expect no less from the land that was the first to proclaim to the world, that to breathe her air must make men free. Indeed, to use the language of another—"We have ever looked for aid from the land where Auguste de Staël and the Duc de Broglie kept alive, in the public mind, during a whole reign, the idea of Emancipation; the land which yielded that great boon to the whole devoted life of Schœlcher. To him has been given the rare privilege of completing, in his manhood, the work so nobly begun in his youth, and, with his compatriots ARAGO and LAMARTINE, to prove the French republicans of the nineteenth century the true spiritual heirs of St. Louis."

Feelings of sympathy and interest have been manifested toward us by friends in France, deeply and unceasingly, during the last six years, and it has at last assumed the shape of a national testimony to our Cause. Mrs. STOWE's world-famous work, "UNCLE TOM'S CABIN," seems to have produced the effect that might have been anticipated in the bosom of the French Evangelical Church. Many of its members were too deeply moved to remain longer inactive. A proposition to aid this annual effort was proposed at a reünion of the French Evangelical Alliance, and afterwards in a more public manner. We very deeply regret that the letter of Madame MONOD, accompanying the large, costly and elegant collection of articles transmitted by herself and her coadjutors, has been accidentally mislaid. It would have given us pleasure to have communicated the expression of their feeling in her own language; but though this is out of our power, the friends of the anti-slavery cause throughout the country will feel none the less grateful.

We would gladly thank all in France, by name, who have given us such valuable aid; but we are informed that our friends in general prefer not to be named. We will, therefore, act in obedience to such suggestions, only entreating Madame MONOD, Madame PRESSENCE, Madame GUEPIN, and the other beloved and well-remembered names, to convey to each donor, if possible, the assurance of our fervent gratitude for the important aid both moral and pecuniary, that they have sent us in this and in former years. We trust that all who have, for the first time, interested themselves in this labour of mercy, will remember the arduous nature of the work we have undertaken.

> "We have to endure,
> And to keep watch, and to arouse a land,
> And to defend an altar!"

Is not this the case in a country where every man is pledged to return a fugitive slave to his bondage, pledged to die fighting, if need be, in suppression of a slave insurrection, pledged to allow the slave States three votes for every five slaves? Is not this emphatically the case in a country where its Priesthood is, with the most insignificant exception as to numbers, the hearty defenders of the slave system, diligently inculcating the doctrine that Slavery and Christianity are institutions entirely incompatible with each other? or leaving the same doctrine to be inferred from their silence and indifference?

In the very city in which we dwell, the capital of the most anti-slavery State in the Union, the leading Doctors of Divinity, of the dominant sect of Massachusetts, in the persons of the Rev. Messrs. Blagden and Adams, are straining every nerve to extinguish the rising anti-slavery spirit that the admission of Nebraska, and the passage of the Fugitive Slave bill had aroused. And is there a single Evangelical Church in New England, that would reject their ministerial service, or fifty individuals out of her thousand communicants who would refuse to receive the sacrament at their hands?

Oh! it is a great work to change the hearts of a whole people, by no other instrumentality than the presentation of the truth; and do not be discouraged or impatient that it is a work of years, and not days.

The vivid pages of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" have shown the whole world what slavery really is. So far as Christendom is concerned, she owes it to the name by which she is called to declare, that she rejects from her communion any who avow themselves its supporters.

We will make mention of a few of the objects of peculiar elegance and beauty that were upon the French table. A chair, piano-forte stool, *coffre á bois*, and sofa cushions of the most exquisite embroidery, attracted universal admiration. The same may be said of the hearth-rug, which was thought almost too beautiful for the purpose for which it was designed. All these articles were disposed of at excellent prices. The very pretty Jardinière, quite a novelty among us, was highly esteemed, and the magnificent lace appreciated, though we were unable to find purchasers for it this year. We shall doubtless do so the next. But the embroidered muslin met with the greatest success. Hardly an article remained unsold. This is a species of work that is always in demand.

But time would fail us were we to attempt to enumerate half the beautiful objects that crowded this table—tea caddies and work-boxes by Téhan, *presse papiers, ide poches*, an elegant Etagerè, and a variety of small objects that we cannot even glance at.

We must not omit to mention, that the same suggestive testimony is borne by our French sisters interested in Madame MONOD's collection, as is frequently to be found in our English letters, that it is the poor of this world who are rich in faith. The same accounts comes to us from Paris as from Bristol. The poor children in the Charity Schools have worked most untiringly, and many too young to work much have shown the liveliest sympathy in the movement. Many school girls have contributed, some of their work, and others of their pocket money. There are many subjects of particular interest, over which we should like to linger, did time permit. For the same reason, we cannot even refer to many curious objects that would otherwise merit attention.

But for Madame Brenier's art and mystery of Potishomachia, we *must* find an especial place. She has been so happy as to unite a *jeu d' esprit* with a testimony, as will be apparent to those who were so fortunate as to purchase a copy of the attractive little *brochure* that accompanied the beautiful jar and materials for the manufacture of the work. Potishomachia is the art of ornamenting and decorating glass, giving to it the appearance of porcelain. The following is Madame BRENIER'S dedication of her little pamphlet:

"To the Ladies of Boston, on the occasion of the Annual Fancy Fair, to be held in aid of Negro Emancipation, the following Sketch is humbly offered, in token of affectionate admiration and respect, by their sincere well-wisher, the Author."

The box of materials and specimen jar was purchased at once for fifteen dollars, and several duplicates could have been disposed of, had they been obtainable. As many of the pamphlets were sold, we would suggest that we might, probably, on another occasion, find ready purchasers for the boxes of the implements necessary for the work, the fancy work mania being common, we think, to the race.

Here, perhaps, is the appropriate place to refer to the very beautiful collection of articles forwarded by those of our Managers, now resident in France. They consist of china, Bohemian glass, very pretty basket-work of new style, bronzes, very pretty ornaments in gold, coral, and steel, oil paintings (we would make particular mention of a very beautiful one by Miss CARTER, a young Moorish girl, after Murillo, bought by Mrs. FOLLEN), statuettes in plaster and stearine; carvings in bone and ivory, peculiar to Baden; German drinking cups, made of different coloured woods, with enamelled covers, an extremely pretty article; pen and ink drawings, and many objects of taste and art, of which our want of space forbids us to make mention. The china belonging to Louis Philippe found ready purchasers, as did a great portion of the other articles.

We regret deeply that many of the beautiful statuettes were broken in the transit. Luckily, a few arrived safely. Among these, the lovely Venus de Milo, the beauty of which attracted great admiration.

As this collection of our Managers was placed upon the Book Table (which has, from time immemorial, been consecrated to objects of taste and virtue), we are led, while lingering in its delightful precincts, to mention a few more of its attractions, interesting as subjects of curiosity, (the Nature painting, for instance, from Bristol, where, by some process of which we are ignorant, flower are so transferred to the paper as to present the appearance of an exquisite painting) or still more so as objects of tender and hallowed association Here were placed the autograph maps of OBERLIN, the good pastor of the Vaudois, and the texts of Scripture printed by himself at his own press for distribution among the peasantry of the Swiss valleys. It was with no common emotions of interest, that these memorials of the sainted dead were regarded; and it was with much satisfaction we learned by the letter accompanying, on the authority of one of the descendants, now pastor of the same church of the Ban de la Roche, that OBERLIN'S horror of slavery and the slave trade had been of the most earnest and profound character. From religious convictions of duty, he abandoned the use of sugar and coffee, and in spite of his great age and delicate health, maintained his resolution inviolate to the end of his life. A few plaster cuts of the great and good man were very acceptable.

An extremely pretty china cup and saucer, that were presented to the Bazaar, touched our hearts very deeply, owing to the letter that accompanied them. We think it will be interesting to our readers, and therefore copy it, trusting that, as we suppress the writer's name and place of residence, he will excuse the liberty we take:

"MISS ANNE WARREN WESTON, Boston—*Madame*: Though I am a poor foreigner, in a low social position, with little education, yet I venture to send the National Anti-Slavery Bazaar a coffee cup, just received as a Christmas gift from my old mother in Germany. You will kindly excuse the littleness of the present, and take my good will as an equivalent for its small pecuniary worth.

"Though only nine months in this country, and little acquainted with her institutions, my feelings against slavery arose mightily a long time before I crossed the ocean, seeking a new home on this continent; and I will be proud, if the time comes, and I become a citizen of this country by law, to connect myself with the noble party who are called Abolitionists, and whose leading motto is HUMANITY!

"I beg your pardon, Madame, for any grammatical errors I may make in these lines.

"With the highest esteem, I remain, Madame,
"Your very humble servant,

"Dec. 18, 1854."

A goodly portion of the Book Table was occupied by the unusually well-chosen and saleable articles from Stuttgart. We think they were marked entirely equal to their value, and yet hardly an article remains on hand. All who take an interest in our Bazaars will remember our sad disappointment of last year, in the loss, in the shipwreck of the Humboldt, of the very valuable box, collected by Madame C. B. HUNT, of Stuttgart. Fortunately, there was a partial insurance upon it; and having received this, Madame HUNT proceeded to make fresh collections. Prelat VON KAFF, a name dear to the literature and religion of Germany, seconded the undertaking, commending it to the consideration of his parishioners, and offering to receive their donations. The result has been a very large and judiciously chosen assortment. It included a very elegant and somewhat rare collection of Bohemian glass, table mats and chess boards, of an entirely novel description, and a very large quantity of the most unique and attractive toys, baby-houses complete, dolls, furniture, miniature tea sets, elegantly gilded, small dolls in fancy costumes—articles, in short, exactly suited to the taste of our child customers. Almost every German toy was swept from the table before the close of the first day. Of all the demands made upon us, we find nothing so difficult to supply as that made for pretty toys; but this year, thanks to Germany, we were better able to meet them.

Among the Drawings sent from Stuttgart was one in water colours, of great merit. It was a reduced copy, in miniature style, of a painting, by Eberhard Von Wächter, to which he gave the title of "HUMANITAS." The painting represents a lovely female figure, with two children on her lap, one black, the other white. Madame HUNT remarks, "Wächter has been dead many years; I do not know how long, but I see, on referring to a work of art, that he was born 1762, and that he is much appreciated for the conception and feeling of his compositions. It is interesting for our Cause that a German artist [illegible] have symbolized HUMANITY in the contending claims of the black and white infants. I, having seen the original, may perhaps give to the copy a fuller meaning and expression than others will see in it; but there seems to me a beseeching look in the black child, that contrasts sweetly and painfully with the triumphant claim, by right, that is expressed in the white child; and that the *ensemble* contains a volume on the sad and vexed question of complexional rights."

From the German, we turn to the Swiss table, where, for a portion of the time, Mrs. STOWE presided. In beauty and novelty, this table was second to none that the Bazaar afforded.

A little account of the offering from Switzerland, that country so consecrated to Religion and Freedom, will not be uninteresting to our readers, and is likewise due to our Swiss contributors. We believe that this gift is owing primarily to Madame AURIOL, a daughter of the celebrated DE WETTE. Overwhelmed in affliction by the death of an only child, the reading of "Uncle Tom's Cabin" first started her from her despondency and aroused her to effort in behalf of mothers suffering by a more terrible bereavement than that of death. The collection was originally made, with the idea of applying its proceeds to the actual purchase of young children. While honouring very highly the motives of Madame AURIOL and her associates, we feel that, were they in our position, after an equal amount of experience with ourselves, their views of duty on this question of purchasing slaves would be identical with our own. With very great unanimity, the Abolitionists feel called upon to protest against the purchase of slaves, as a general measure. If we buy one slave, we relieve that one individual from the yoke of bondage; but it is by substituting another in his stead. The slaveholder takes the money that we, in a spirit of real, but short sighted and partial benevolence, have paid him, proceeds to the human flesh market, and then selects another victim to fill the place in his establishment that we have made vacant. We may have diminished the number of slaves by one; and we have certainly given to the slave trade, the thing it most covets, the sanction of the Abolitionists. The method that the American Anti-Slavery Society proposes is the emancipation of the slave, through the repentance of the master. It is to this end that its publications and lecturers address themselves, and all its members would deprecate what appears to them so unwise a use of means as to employ, for the purchase of ten slaves, an amount of money which might largely contribute to that general excitement of the public mind, that should result in the emancipation of the whole. Neither do we feel it wise to be drawn away from our great purpose, the renovation of public sentiment, by any very systematic efforts for the assistance of fugitive slaves. Do not let us be misunderstood. Our interest in the escape of every fugitive is of the most earnest and intense character, and we pray God's blessing on every man, who, by advice, or money, or shelter, or his own personal peril, shall facilitate such attempt. As we work on—

> "the steadfast star
> That was in ocean cave yet never wet,
> But firm is fixed, and sendeth light from far"—

not only

> "To all who in the wide deep wandering are,"

but also to the fugitive American slave, in greater peril than any sea-tossed wanderer, we rejoice in its beams, and wish that their number was Legion who might dare trust themselves to its friendly guidance.

But the most important assistance extended to such must necessarily be of an extemporaneous character drawn forth by the emergencies of the occasion. When the heart is right in respect to the three million, there is no fear that a man will neglect the runaway slave at his own door. We think it will hardly be said, just at this particular time, that the men in fellowship with the American Anti-Slavery Society, have forgotten the claims of the fugitive, or hesitated to peril themselves in his behalf. What we deprecate is the idea, that assistance, given to the men freed by their own heroism, can be accepted as an equivalent for direct, positive Anti-Slavery action. It is so much easier to help Canada missions than to attack the pro-slavery sentiment of our own public, that we feel impelled to offer this caution to all who are, for the first time, considering their Anti-Slavery duty. The country cannot be mightily shaken on the main question, without favourably effecting the condition of fugitives everywhere. When the great fountain of Anti-Slavery feeling is full, the little rills will be well supplied; but, if labour for fugitives be the extent of our action, we can hardly call ourselves Abolitionists.

But we have wandered from our Swiss coadjutors. The Committee agreed with Mrs. STOWE, that the best way of carrying out, in its true intent, the touching request of Madame AURIOL, was by setting apart the funds of the Swiss table for the publication and dissemination of a Tract, entirely devoted to the subject of the separations of slave families, where, of course, the most impressive appeal might be made to every mother in the United States, an appeal which, on such a view of the question, we would trust, might not remain wholly unanswered. The American Anti-Slavery Society will issue this at their earliest leisure.

We cannot speak too highly of the beauty and taste of the Swiss articles. They consisted of the exquisite wood carvings, peculiar to the country—the most charming little *chalets* of different sizes, groups of animals, dolls in the costumes of the different Cantons, very delicate embroidered muslin, from St. Gall, articles manufactured by the blind in the Institution of Lausanne, extremely pretty straw work from a workshop for the poor in the same place, enamelled brooches from Geneva, beautiful water colour drawings, and many other articles, very perfect, and some extremely rare, but which we are prevented, by their very variety, from separately enumerating. Some valuable books were contributed by M. MICHAUD, bookseller at Neufchatel. In the contribution from Lausanne, collected by the widow of the well-known and well-beloved Professor VINET, were included some carvings in wood that were extremely curious as being the work of EDOUARD MEYSTRE, a youth, blind, deaf and dumb, in the Lausanne Institution. But we might extend this account much farther did space permit. As it is we would beg to express our most grateful sense of obligation to Madame AURIOT and Madame VINET and their coadjuters for all that they have felt and done in the slave's behalf.

We are sure that all our continental friends will have great pleasure in the knowledge that their gifts were rendered doubly valuable by our unlooked-for disappointment in our supplies from other sources, from Scotland in particular. All who have visited the Bazaar in previous years will call to mind the great abundance, utility and beauty of our Scotch donations, and yet during the usual ten days allotted to the Bazaar, not an article from Scotland was in the Hall. Brilliant as had been our success, we are aware how great was the vacancy occasioned by the absence of these. Many articles that were inquired for, we were wholly unable to supply, much to the regret of ourselves and visitors. During the last two days of our second week, our boxes from Cork and Bury arrived. The Cork collection was not large, but, as usual, valuable and elegant. Our most beautiful crotchet collars and sleeves are always to be found at this table. For our donations from Bury we are indebted to the Rev. Franklin Howarth, the Unitarian clergyman of that place. He and Mrs. Howarth have shown the kindliest interest, in procuring and forwarding this, the first collection ever received from Bury. It was made with much taste and judgment, and we only regretted that the unfortunate delay in its arrival prevented our making it as profitable as might otherwise have been the case. It is very important to us to receive our boxes in good season, or we cannot do justice to their contents by examining and apprising them in the leisurely way that is so essential. The Simnel cake, we regret to say, was somewhat crushed at the Custom-House. We will not play upon the curiosity of our readers, as we have now an opportunity of doing. We will tell them at once what a Simnel cake is. It is a cake, fashioned much, we should judge, after the Three Cakes immortalized by Mrs. Barbauld, but is peculiar to Bury, in the circumstance of being sold there at mid-Lent—*semi-Lent* supposed to be the origin of the name. So Mrs. Howarth writes us, and she adds, that two years since, eleven thousand strangers came into Bury on Simnel Sunday, to procure these cakes. The mention of this cake, decorated with Mr. Wedgewood's world-famous design of a kneeling slave with the words "Am I not a man and a brother?" reminds us to offer our thanks to his grandsons for a box of cameos with the same device, and also to Miss Wedgewood and her sister, for their valuable help received through Bridgewater.

The Glasgow and Milnathorb boxes, notwithstanding the most strenuous exertion, we were unable to obtain till within the afternoon of the 31st, within a few hours of the time when the Bazaar has been accustomed to close; but as their arrival had been hoped for, from day to day, and the inquiries of our customers had been constant, we thought best, fatigued as we were, to keep it open over New Year's Day, although our receipts up to this time were somewhat over $4,200 Messrs. Hennessy & Co., the proprietors of the Rooms in which the Bazaar was held, very kindly placed them, without any increased expense, at our disposal for another day; and for this, and various acts of kindness, the Managers beg leave to return their very grateful acknowledgments. The two Rooms that we occupied, being sufficiently spacious, connected by folding-doors, and centrally situated, afforded us very desirable accommodations. The weather, which, with the exception of two or three wet days in the second week, proved reasonably fine, was extremely so on Monday; and, thanks to our Glasgow and Milnathorb reinforcements, the Bazaar closed on the evening of the first day of the New Year, with its total receipts amounting to FIVE THOUSAND DOLLARS.

The contents of the Glasgow and Milnathorb boxes were very similar to those of last year—all excellent, beautiful and saleable, with the one exception of children's dresses, especially the shawls, and embroidery, and material for ladies' dresses. We wish particularly to thank Dr. NICOL, for his beautiful volume, which was purchased by Mr. WENDELL PHILLIPS.

The Book of Scotch Songs was considered a gem. Perhaps we may remark here that our collection of books was hardly as large as we should have liked. The works of Pascal and Racine, sent by Madame Hunt, and the Life of R. L. Edgeworth, presented by R. D. Webb, found a ready sale. Books included in the designation of polite literature are those that we find the most profitable. Controversy publications do not, as a general thing, sell readily. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Wilson Armistead and other friends in Leeds for their generous donation of anti-slavery works which have been purchased for gratuitous distribution.

Though there is an increased interest in the cause throughout the whole country, still the amount of assistance extended to the Bazaar in the way of donations, either in money or goods, does not materially increase. The reason of this, we think, is to be ascribed to the increase of Anti-Slavery Fairs. As many of them are greatly assisted by donations of the articles left from the Bazaar, and as all their funds go to either the National or State Societies, they should in reality be construed as part and parcel of one movement, and are accordingly rejoiced in as such. This explanation is due to our friends whose services are given rather to Fitchburg, Worcester, Leominster, Weymouth and other places, than to Boston.

The following are the places that were represented at the recent Bazaar: Boston, Hingham, Lynn, Concord, Salem, Duxbury, Dorchester, Plymouth, Neponset, Paxton, Ashburnham, Feltonville, Weymouth, Fall River, Worcester, Massachusetts; Portland and Bangor in Maine; Concord and Portsmouth, New Hampshire; Rochester, Albany and Troy in the State of New York. Most of the domestic donations were as usual of a useful character, excellent and saleable. We must especially refer to the Dorchester table, represented by Mrs. Bramhall and Miss Carlton, which contained so many beautiful articles that it might well compete with some of the foreign tables. We particularly noticed the beautiful Lamp Shades made of ground glass, most exquisitely ornamented with the richly coloured Autumn leaves and flowers, and a great variety of elaborately carved and adorned Picture Frames. A statuette in marble, "The Dancing Girl at rest," presented by Mrs. May, was one of the most beautiful things the Bazaar afforded. The really magnificent assortment of Dressing Gowns from Albany demands special thanks, and we beg Miss Mott and Mrs. Harper to convey the same to the parties to whom they are due. We wish more of our friends in the State of New York possessed the munificent spirit of those resident in Albany. To Mrs. Jones, of Troy, we are likewise specially indebted. We assure her that her very nice needle-work is entirely appreciated, and brings us reputation as well as profit. Amid the immense preponderance of elegant fancy work, it is well to show that the art of plain needle-work has not altogether fallen into disuse. We beg, too, in an especial manner, to return our thanks to Mr. John P. Jewett for a very generous donation of books, and to Messrs. Alfred A. Childs & Co., for a very beautiful Marble Vase. We are also indebted to Messrs. Adin Ballou and Francis Jackson for gifts of books, to Mr. Thomas Groom for his very prettily ornamented Almanacs, and to Mr. Thomas Gould for a donation of coal.

The valuable table of Glass and Britannia Ware, so liberally supplied by Messrs. Morey and Ober, has become so much a part of the Bazaar that we should run some risk of overlooking its importance, did not its unfailing receipts keep the remembrance of our great obligation to those gentlemen fresh in our mind. The same may be said of the donation of Mr. Edmund Jackson. We are greatly obliged to Mr. Phillip Scarborough, of Brooklyn, for his gift to the Refreshment Table, and to the many other friends who assisted us in that department. We would particularly mention Mrs. H. Castell, 238 Hanover street, who gave us a large supply of nice confectionary, and Mr. G. W. Vinton, to whom we are indebted for Ice Cream.

The Messrs. Wellington are, as usual, the persons to whom the Committee are greatly obliged, for taking charge of the decorations of the Rooms, and many other necessary arrangements.

We trust that our friend Mr. MAY, the General Agent of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, will pardon us the detail of a little circumstance, that will be read with interest by many of our English friends who know and therefore appreciate him so well, and which may also give pleasure to some of our French contributors.

A number of anti-slavery friends, who were present in the Bazaar at different times, were desirous of collecting from its treasure a gift for Mr. May. Nothing seemed more suitable for this purpose than the silver cup and saucer included in Madame Monod's collection, and to this was added a Bohemian Glass *Flacon*, from Stuttgart, for Mrs. May. The cup bearing the following inscription,

S. M.
Semper fideli,

and accompanied by the following note, was transmitted as a Christmas gift:

"The friends, whose names are subjoined, beg leave to ask Mr. MAY'S acceptance of the accompanying Silver Cup and Saucer, for himself, and Cologne bottle for Mrs. MAY, as trifling proofs alike of their personal regard, and their sense of the value of his services to the Anti-Slavery cause.

"A. S. Bazaar, Winter street, Dec. 25, 1854."

We take the liberty of inserting Mr. May's letter, for the friends addressed, to whom we were unable to communicate it personally:

"DEAR MRS. LORING: I know not how to express, suitably, my thanks to yourself and others, friends of the Anti-Slavery cause, who have just honoured me with your most beautiful Gift, and with the expression of your regard, and your approval of my services to the Cause. Few things, indeed, could have been more unexpected to me, than this high token of your regard; and I pray you to believe me, when I say that I feel quite unworthy of such a tribute, and that you have estimated my poor services far too highly. But I am not unwilling—on the contrary, I am most glad—to believe, on your word, that I have rendered some service to the Anti-Slavery cause, and to those who are so freely working in it, sparing neither time, strength, social position, nor personal influence, to uphold and command it. I shall prize their gift as having a value far above ordinary earthly treasure. It will have a sacred interest to me; and should I ever falter in my duty to our holy cause, the sight of it could not but be a terrible rebuke.

"I know no higher earthly honour than to count among my friends those whose names come to me with this gift, and I hope I may ever retain their friendship.

"Mrs. May begs you, and those associated with you, to accept her best thanks for your beautiful gift to herself—which, as such, as well as for its rare beauty, will be ever most highly regarded by her.

"With sincere regard and gratitude to yourself, and to the friends acting with you,

"I am, dear Mrs. Loring, yours,
"SAMUEL MAY, JR.

"Mrs. LOUISA LORING and others.
"BOSTON. December 27, 1854."

As our imperfect and fragmentary account of a very interesting occasion draws to a close, we greatly regret that it has not been in our power to present a better one. We never saw more clearly that, in some most important respects, our Cause is ONWARD—never was more fully aware of the beneficial effects of this annual commingling of so many persons, of such varied positions, opinions and sympathies, all united in the pursuit of one great and magnificent end. The money that we raise is only half the benefit that accrues to the slave on this occasion. The Bazaar is, in itself, an instrumentality that arrests the attention of the careless, and softens the heart of the selfish. Whence all this love, and trouble, and care, on the part of so many persons of different nations, occupations and creeds, continued with unflagging devotion from year to year? This spectacle speaks louder than words, and we know that it is by this means that the first interest of many now active friends has been awakened.

For many years, a portion of the evenings of the Bazaar has been occupied by public speaking, but circumstances, unnecessary to enumerate, rendered it this year impossible, with one exception. On the last evening of the year, Miss LUCY STONE addressed a large audience, with much pathos and beauty.

We trust that another year may witness a deeper and more solemn devotion, on our part, to the interests of this great question. Very few see, still fewer actually feel, its momentous importance. Even in the minds of good men it is placed on a level with the questions of Temperance, Free Trade, the Rights of Women, the progress of Catholicism, Emigration, Metaphysical Theories, or the nearness of the Spiritual World, and a variety of topics, which, however interesting and important in themselves, are as the dust on the balance, in comparison with the inquiry—Shall the Republicanism and Christianity of America, in the Nineteenth Century, succumb to the slaveholding idea now so terribly dominant, and shall such despotism, in respect to the government of man, and such disbelief in the government of God as the kingdoms and popedoms of the old world never saw, take the place of those institutions that the Mayflower brought to our shores, and that the Declaration of Independence established on a still broader foundation? This statement is not less true, that the world does not see it so. All the great struggles of History are "death-grapples in the *dark

are a decent sort of folk, understanding their own principles, and living up to them, perhaps, a little better than ordinary, as people are apt to do while in a very small and very obnoxious minority, for whose trippings and backslidings the world is on the watch. And though there may be here and there an exception among them to whom Mr. Bellows's charges are applicable, surely it is hardly just to condemn the whole body for the shortcomings of these unworthy members. It is much as if a lecturer, invited to a Temperance Festival, after laying down the great sinfulness of drunkenness, and charging it as the great vice of the community, should also give it as his opinion that that company of Teetotallers were all in the habit of being pretty frequently drunk. It would certainly be an unjust, perhaps an ill-timed, accusation, though it might be true that among Temperance people there could be found some poor brother too weak in the spirit, or too weak in the flesh, to understand his duty, or to resist temptation. Or it is as if some new convert to Unitarianism should address his brethren at a yearly Association, and, after giving an excellent "skreed of doctrine," and denouncing the tenets of Calvinism, should avow it as his belief that that very body was filled with the spirit of Orthodoxy, and justly chargeable with all the grave and pernicious errors of that theological system. And it might be true that here and there was one, calling himself a Unitarian, obnoxious to such a charge. The injustice in either of these cases would be so monstrous that everybody would be shocked. Yet it is of almost constant occurrence with those with whom anti-slavery profession has not yet blossomed into anti-slavery practice. "I have often thought," says Sydney Smith, "that it would be extremely useful to make a collection of the hatred and abuse that all those changes have experienced, which are now admitted to be marked improvements in our condition. Such an history might make folly a little more modest and suspicious of its own decisions."

The instance, adduced by Mr. Bellows, of the want of carefulness, of fairness, and of candour, and of the ferocity and contempt for humanity, "which have so often characterized the Abolition platform" is a peculiarly unfortunate one whereby to make good such sweeping condemnation, and peculiarly happy as a specimen of the sort of foundation on which such charges are usually based. If there ever was a case in which the Abolitionists were absolutely and positively right—one in which they were altogether careful, fair and candid—one where they were neither ferocious nor contemptuous—it is in this case of Dr. Dewey. It happened to be one where there was no room for exaggeration; where any sentimental appeal was entirely uncalled for; and where there was hardly a possibility of misrepresentation. The simple fact was that Dr. Dewey avowed his willingness, in a certain contingency, to send his mother into slavery, and the Abolitionists seized and commented upon this atrocious declaration as it ought to be by men and women who, if nothing more, were themselves parents, or who had known a mother's love. The sentiment, standing alone in all its naked deformity, is almost as bad as bad can be; but if it were possible to aggravate its hideousness, it was done by the circumstances under which it was delivered. It was, it will be remembered, a time when the whole nation was aroused, as it had never been before, by the aggressions of the Slave Power. That grand "Apostate to the Commonwealth," Daniel Webster, of whom it may be said, as of another great criminal, that he possessed abilities "whereof God had given him the use, but the Devil the application"—after preparing, as we happen to know, an anti-slavery speech to deliver in the Senate, on the Compromise Measures; after writing home, to inquire how large a measure of anti-slavery his constituents would bear; was bought over by the enemy, and, if not by virtue of an actual "Know all men by these Indentures," at least in fulfilment of his half of an implied and well-understood bargain, carried, as far as the most influential of Northern men could carry, that monstrous Law which made of the whole North a free preserve for the slave-hunter, and spread desolation and terror in hundreds of humble Northern homes; and then, returning to Massachusetts, he bade her people "to conquer their prejudices," and be ready to give tongue, and spring from their leashes, like obedient hounds, to the first tally ho! that should be raised for a slave-hunt by their Southern masters. And whom did he call upon—or, at least, who came, whether called or not—to aid him in this precious work of trampling out the fires upon the hearth-stones of many a Massachusetts family, and scattering, like their dead ashes, the parents and the children that had gathered about them in peacefulness and love? The heads of the New England Church; Professor Stuart, of Andover, the great light of Orthodoxy, who reconciled the New England conscience to the Constitution, the Constitution to slavery, slavery to the Word of God, and the Word of God to slave-catching; and the Rev. Dr. Dewey, the unordained Bishop of Liberal Christianity, on whom, it was said, had fallen the mantle of Channing, but whose exhortation to the people—Obey the Law, and Return the Fugitive—is his response to the, almost, dying injunction of that venerable man: "Should a slave-hunter ever profane these mountainous retreats by seeking here a flying bondman, regard him as a legalized robber. Oppose no force to him; you need not do it. Your contempt and indignation will be enough to disarm the 'man-stealer' of the unholy power conferred on him by unrighteous laws."

It was not Dr. Dewey's 'rhetoric' that was complained of, or criticised, for, as we have said in a former article, in this paper, the sentiment of his declaration was not changed by any alteration of its terms. If he could send *anybody* into slavery—if that were an act virtuous in itself, or meritorious as an act of sacrifice, then, it would have been ennobled by so touching an evidence of its sincerity. And so also the atrocity of the sentiment was made the more palpable and obnoxious by the evident sincerity of the strong terms in which Dr. Dewey chose to express his convictions. It is said of a certain other distinguished Unitarian clergyman of Boston, that he declared in private, in that season of trial, that he should esteem it his duty to drive from his door the fugitive slave who should appeal to him for protection and aid. Had he said so publicly he would have met, from the Abolitionists, at least, the rebuke he so justly merited, though it might be hoped for him that in the heat of controversy, and with an exaggerated sense of the requirement of a supposititious public duty, he had smothered the voice of conscience, and underrated the power which the natural and kindly impulses of the human heart would exercise over him when actually appealed to. But it was precisely because Dr. Dewey left, and meant to leave, no such palliation possible of his avowal, that it was met with such an outcry of horror. *He* evidently had looked at the question in all its aspects; had placed himself face to face with the wretched fugitive; had calculated his own strength to resist the prayers of a despairing man to deliver him from a fate more dreadful than death; had so far "conquered his prejudices" as to set at naught that emotion which first stirs the heart of the child upon its mother's bosom—that glimmers last in eyes over which the darkness of death is stealing; had put to himself the supposition—'were it your wife, or child, your mother or brother, could you surrender them to this dreadful fate of bondage, with all its certainties, and all its accidents'? and his answer was—'I COULD.' It was Dr. Dewey's sincerity, his unquestionable earnestness and zeal in defence of an outrage upon man, and a defiance of the laws of God, and not a mere form of expression chosen to express the necessity of obedience to the laws of the country, that received, and merited, the stamp of reprobation wherever there was any sense of filial reverence, or any acknowledgment of the dictates of common humanity. Dr. Dewey himself, we believe, sees this now as plainly as we do, and endeavours by his late apology—it would seem, with some success—to hide the true intent of his words by calling attention to a form of expression which he denies having used. Like a fox that "doubles" he hopes to baffle pursuit, though he knows that the scent he leaves behind him is always the same.

But did he say 'mother'? Were filial impiety a capital crime, Dr. Dewey would be by this time beyond the ghostly ministrations of our brother Spear. Probably hundreds, certainly scores, both of men and women, and among them more than one Unitarian clergyman could be brought to testify to the use of the word he denies, at Lynn, at Boston, at Newburyport. We know of one phonographic reporter who wrote it down in his notes as it fell from the lecturer's lips at Lynn, and there it stands written to this day. We know of one lady of some literary distinction, who refused an introduction to him at the close of that lecture because he had so outraged her womanly instincts; and we know that among many of the *mothers* of Lynn indignation was expressed in no measured terms, at what they received as an insult to the maternal relation. The testimony against him came in every shape, from all sorts of people, and from several places; and—we beg Mr. Bellows to mark this fact—when it was established, as far as human testimony can establish anything, that Dr. Dewey had used the words attributed to him, when all this evidence, sometimes sought, sometimes voluntary given, had been carefully weighed, and thoroughly sifted, then, and not till then, did the Abolitionists use this instrument, thus tossed into their hands by himself, to neutralize the influence of this "pure and reverential" man.

Thus stands the matter, between Dr. Dewey and the Abolitionists on this particular count, and so far as that is concerned we think all candid people must allow that the charge of ferocity and a want of candour and carefulness, on the part of the latter does not hold good. If we have dwelt upon it too long, it is because it is well to seize upon such occasional opportunities of setting forth the spirit in which the anti-slavery cause has been advocated, and because it is not well to be silent under the charge, that Abolitionists are reckless in their statement of facts. It does not much matter whether the world deems them ferocious, fanatical, or foolish, but it does matter that they shall maintain a reputation for carefulness—that it shall be acknowledged that if their facts be ugly to look at, they are good ones to go—that the worst thing about them is, that they never lie, and are not often mistaken. It is important that it should be known, that in their issue of the current coin of the anti-slavery realm there is no base money, and that when a guinea is found in circulation with their stamp of *bogus* upon it, the fault is in the pinchbeck article, and not in them, that there is no ring of the true metal in it.

As yet we have touched Dr. Dewey only in a single point, though much more can be said to show why the Abolitionists justly regarded him—apart from that declaration of his on which we have been here commenting—as a bitterly malicious enemy of the slave's cause. Perhaps it is hardly worth while to return again to the subject, unless some special occasion should make it desirable; but we are ready to do chapter and verse if that occasion shall ever arise.

MR. GREELEY'S LECTURE.

THE Ninth Lecture of the Course of the New York Anti-Slavery Society was delivered on Tuesday evening, by Horace Greeley. The audience was not a large one, perhaps because there was not much curiosity felt to hear what a man had to say upon a subject about which he is writing constantly writing, as editor of a morning paper, and who writes better than he speaks.

Mr. Greeley's subject was the relation of Slavery to Labour. He commenced by saying that some of the audience might think there was a difference between the views he was about to offer and those presented by the last lecturer—Mr. Beecher. It would be found, however, that it was only a view of the subject taken from a different stand-point, though 'more fundamental' than that of Mr. Beecher. If Mr. Greeley has a hobby, it is labour, and it was to be expected that in his choice of a topic he would present his peculiar views; and it was desirable, also, that he should.

He dwelt on the dignity of labour. The drama of man's life-struggle, he said, is not being performed before any Sebastopol, nor in any Crimea, or Bessarabia; but in Iowa and Kansas, and among the wildernesses of the West; not with the sword, but with the wood-man's axe. But, he continued, according to the common wisdom, labour is a curse from which escape is sought as the highest good. Human slavery seems to be the logical result and culmination of the popular ideas respecting labour. If I can conquer in the battle-field, take a captive, spare him by my clemency, make him my slave, and place him to receive my share of the primal curse, it is natural that I should become to him Church, State, and Providence, Law, Conscience and Divinity; and this is an arrangement very useful and agreeable to the enslaver.

Such a branch of Heaven's laws, he continued, brings its own punishment. Art and Science die where slavery begins, and no man can live by the Golden Rule with a house full of slaves. A slaveholder cannot respect a labourer, on whom he looks as a mere commodity, and speak to him of the dignity of free labour, and he answers, "I can buy a better man for a thousand dollars."

It is this view, he said, which chiefly aids in upholding the system in America. The argument that slaves are better provided for in slavery than they could provide for themselves in freedom, was considered. The question of right should come in before that of expediency; and the first question should be, "Where is your commission from the Almighty to hold in bondage your adult fellow-men and women?" The duty of anti-slavery men to provide for the less fortunate in their own community was dwelt on. Should they be able to say to the slaveholders, send on those whom you call your slaves, and they shall be provided with work, and paid wages, the inducement to the holders of slaves to resign, voluntarily, would have much more effect than it now has. But such assurance cannot be given, and this truth shows a deep wound in society, for which charity is but a small patch. The great, urgent want of the civilized world is some system by which a day's labour, and *some* wages for it, may be assured to the willing worker; by which, while potatoes and corn can always command a price, the labour that produces them shall not be without some price, and by which labour may not be the only commodity, which cannot be sold. Society needs some engineer skillful enough to bridge over the gulf that separates starving and shivering men and women from the food and clothing which are displayed in superabundance all around them. Goods cannot be sold, because those who want them have no work; and these have no work because the goods cannot be sold. Thus it is "all a muddle." The clue to all this difficulty is the organization of industry, and the remedy is in the logic and methods of social re-construction. The man who finds the way to dignify labour will give the death-blow to human bondage; then its existence is not to be counted by generations, but by years.

Then Mr. Greeley showed that the man who, at the North, despises labour is the slaveholder's best ally, and properly finds his place on a Union-Saving Committee. And he advocated the establishment of Colonies of free labourers at the South, to show the superiority of free labour, with its economy, thrift, persevering industry, schools, factories, and churches, over the slave-labour, and the wretched condition to which poor freemen are reduced in a slave community. He exhorted the free blacks of the North also to establish themselves in communities, and, by independent thrift and labour, prove their capabilities, and that they could be put to a better use in the world's work than if made slaves.

Such is a very brief synopsis of the lecture, made from the *Tribune's* report, for we had not the pleasure of hearing it. It is an important view of the subject, and one not to be lost sight of, though it is, we think, a one-sided view of it. The real root of the system is, as we think, in man's contempt for man, and not for his labour. No sane man can help seeing now that the Northern system of free labour is infinitely superior to the Southern system of slave labour, but what slaveholder, on that account, will relax his grasp upon the men whose weakness he despises, but whose labour is his profit? It is slavery that degrades labour at the South directly, and at the North indirectly, and not the contempt for labour that sustains slavery. A colony of Northern freemen at the South, however thrifty, and however much labour among them might be honoured, would be itself degraded and sunk to the condition of slaveholders, or "poor white folks," in a generation, by the influence of slavery. So, too, the free blacks of the North are, at this moment, industrious and enterprising, as far as they are permitted to be, with almost every avenue of industry shut against them by the whites; but, they are none the less despised on that account. Would they be any more respected if isolated? Or is slavery any nearer its end because they show themselves to be men? By such isolation they will only strengthen the prejudice against them, and confirm that contempt which will permit them to exist with the white race only as slaves and servants.

RHODE ISLAND ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

No report having been furnished us of the proceedings of the State Anti-Slavery Convention, held in Providence on Thursday and Friday, Jan. 11th and 12th, we compile the following brief notice from the official sketch in the *Liberator* and from statements which we find in the *Rhode Island Freeman*. The space at our command this week, is so limited as to compel us to be very brief.

The Convention was organized by the election of DANIEL MITCHELL, of Pawtucket, President; George J. Adams, of East Greenwich, Susan Sisson, of Pawtucket, and Asa Fairbanks, of Providence, Vice-Presidents; Elizabeth B. Chase, of Valley Falls, and Dunbar B. Harris, of Providence, Secretaries; and Abby Kelley Foster, Susan Anthony and Edward Magill, Finance Committee.

By the time these arrangements were completed, an audience had assembled, larger in number than had ever before met in the first morning's session of an Anti-Slavery Convention in Providence; men and women, whose intelligent, earnest and thoughtful countenances expressed a capacity to comprehend the length, and breadth, and depth, of a great moral movement, and many of them that cheerful alacrity of spirit, which told us, that, having cast away all fetterings, they were already engaged in its labours, and rewarded by its benefits to themselves.

William Lloyd Garrison called the attention of the audience to the purpose of the meeting, declaring the platform of the Anti-Slavery meetings to be free to all, and urging the people to consider this not exclusively a Convention of the American Anti-Slavery Society, or even of Rhode Island Abolitionists, but the meeting of all who should attend it.

Mr. Garrison, in behalf of the Business Committee, reported a series of high-toned resolves, setting forth, in most explicit language, the sinfulness of slavery, the guilt of the North, the folly of all merely incidental and side issues with the Slave Power, &c., and exposing the insidious devices of the Know-Nothings to extinguish the flame of anti-slavery sympathy and benevolence. Two of the resolutions were in the following words:

"Resolved, That we solemnly and earnestly protest against making any incidental, momentary or limited issue with slavery a substitute for its immediate and eternal overthrow; such as the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law, or the repeal any new slave State into the Union, or the acquisition of any foreign territory for slaveholding purposes, or returning back to the policy of our Revolutionary fathers, or the absurdity of attempting to make Liberty national, and Slavery sectional; but the work of genuine Anti-Slavery is to assail Slavery wherever it exists, with or without the sanction of law, as 'the sum of all villanies'—to fill every slaveholder, and every abetter of slaveholding, with shame and confusion of face—and to give immediate and unconditional emancipation to every slave on the American soil.

"Resolved, That A DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION is demanded by every principle of justice, humanity and self-respect, by every consideration of safety and the general welfare, and by the wisest reference to all their industrial pursuits, on the part of the Free States; that in no other way can they maintain their own rights, or wash their hands in innocency, than by a peaceful secession from the slaveholding States, leaving with *them* the awful responsibilities of their slave system; and that, to this end, they ought to meet, in a delegated capacity, in a free Northern Convention, to take such steps and to agree upon such measures as may be necessary to effect this object."

The resolutions were discussed by Mr. Garrison, Miss Sophia L. Little, Rev. Thomas Williams, Stephen S. Foster, Abby K. Foster, Rev. C. W. Gardner, and William Wells Brown, and adopted.

An excellent letter from Rev. George T. Day (Freewill Baptist), of Olneyville, was read. After expressing regret in view of his inability to attend the Convention, and speaking of the desirableness of organized and systematic opposition to slavery, Mr. Day says:

"Some things all genuine Anti-Slavery men can agree in. They can adopt the often quoted statement pronounced self-evident by a venerated statesman, and ratified as such by three millions of ancestors. Let each use his own weapons, conscientiously, as before God, and he will not 'beat the air,' nor use up all his breath in flinging abusive epithets at the head of a co-labourer. Let Slavery be opposed, in good faith, as a sin against heaven and earth, and we shall become too intent on reaching its place of burial to split our spades and mattocks in passionate strife over the question whether it should die by strangulation or its life be drawn out from the jugular vein.

"Let the proofs of its vileness come from any and every quarter. Let the political economist stop it with his facts and figures. Let the jurist exorcise it by the dicta of Common Law, and the concurring verdicts of ages. Let the philosopher expose it, by showing how it disturbs the adjustments of nature, and throws chaos into the mechanism of forces. Let the poet rouse our indignation by showing the strings it has rudely snapped in the harp of life. Let blunt but nobly honest yeomen tell how it has degraded the labour whose badges they wear more worthily than a king his crown. Let woman's pity take up and repeat the heart-wail of its victims, and rain tears on their fetters, so that they melt off like April snows from the crocus. Let the conscience of man condemn it at the bar of natural justice, and the reverent faith of the Christian frighten it away by hurling at its lying lips the tables of the Decalogue, and shame it out from the pale of Christendom, by offering for its life-law the sermon on the mount. It has vulnerable points, which all these weapons may penetrate, and it will perish from our presence none too soon when all these forces are allied. Why may not the Convention begin this good work, whose end shall come when this loathsome despotism shall pass into the crystallization of history? Let us study the things which make for peace among all true lovers of freedom, and which add to the effectiveness of our warfare against all slavery. I ask for no union based on a dishonest *compromise*—that very word will yet wear the mark of Cain; I ask only the union based on a genuine, manly, Christian charity."

The question of organizing a State Anti-Slavery Society was earnestly pondered. It was decided, however, that the time for such a measure had not arrived, but that it was best to leave the State under the care of the American Anti-Slavery Society, appointing an Anti-Slavery and Vigilance Committee to cooperate with that Society, in attention to the interests of the cause in the State. The following are the names of the Committee: George J. Adams, D. W. Vaughn, Sarah Gould, Asa Fairbanks, S. W. Wheeler, L. B. Shepard, D. B. Harris, *Providence;* Dorcas Greene, *Apponaug;* Sarah Brown, *E. Greenwich;* Darius Lawton, *Mapleville;* E. B. Chase, Mary Sherman, *Valley Falls;* Peleg Bosworth, *Warren;* Azenath Metcalf, *Cumberland;* Robert Read, *Bristol;* Charles Perry, *Westerly;* Peleg Kenyon, *Hopkinton;* Sophiah L. Little, *Newport;* Ruth Burleigh, *Little Compton;* Susan Sisson, Isabella Adams, *Pawtucket.*

The *Freeman* says, that, from the opening to the close, there were no dull intervals in the proceedings—no flagging on the part of speakers, no manifestation of weariness among the audience; but, on the contrary, the interest of the meeting deepened as the different phases of the great subject were presented, until each heart-throb in the assembly grew quicker and stronger, and chimed in unison, and rose in enthusiasm for the downfall of American Slavery.

A LETTER FROM ALABAMA.

MONTGOMERY, Ala., Dec., 10.

I AM sitting at the table of the public room of a hotel, surrounded by a large and loquacious host of planters, and "monthly boarders." You must pardon me, therefore, if my letter should prove to be disqualified for admission into the *Methodist* Denomination of Epistles.

My last letter, I believe, left me at the little city of Atlanta, in Georgia. A narration of my adventures since I left it, until I reached Montgomery, would make a rather interesting and exciting article. But, prudential motives counsel me to defer my description of it till a more convenient season. I will state, however, that I have travelled on foot nearly two hundred miles in Georgia and Alabama, and conversed with great numbers of city and country slaves on the subject of Bondage and Freedom. I have never yet met ONE slave contented with his position under the "peculiar" Constitutions of the South. But neither have I spoken with slaves in these two States who are *actively* discontented with involuntary Bondage. Their discontent is merely *passive.* They would all like to be free, but they do not *hope*, nor did they murmur sullenly as I spoke to them of Freedom. In Virginia and the Carolinas, all the slaves I spoke with were *actively* discontented. In Georgia and Alabama, in consequence, chiefly, of the almost impossibility of reaching the North from States so far distant from the Land of Freedom, they regard themselves as the victims of a system of injustice from which there is no earthly hope of escape—except by death.

The Shareholders of the Railroad from West Point (Georgia) to Montgomery own all the slaves who are employed in grading, pumping, wood-cutting, engine-firing and in other labours along the line. These men are the most favoured sons of Africa, *employed in the country*, in Alabama or Georgia. They are hard-worked from "sun to sun" and from Christmas to Christmas, but they are well fed and clothed and comfortably lodged—comfortably, that is to say, for Negro Slaves. They receive five pounds of pork, a pint of molasses and one peck of meal each, per week; and three suits of clothes, a blanket, and a hat, a year. But they have no wives. They are chiefly by birth Virginians, and were nearly all bought in the Old Dominion, eleven years ago. The majority that I spoke with were married men and fathers at the time of their sale; but, as the Railroad Company had no need of female servants or children, *their* "Domestic Institutions" were broken up, and—wifeless and childless—the poor "fellows" were transported and condemned for life to Alabama celebacy and adultery. Garrison! thou "infidel" and "fanatical demagogue"—how did'st thou ever dare to deny that God was the founder of the Institution of Slavery? or to affirm that it was of its father, the Devil, whose work it does?

Several of these hands have cohabited with plantation slaves since their arrival in Alabama. All of them, of course, resemble Napoleon in one respect—they are "no Capuchins!" One of them—a bachelor when sold—and who had been clerically married here said to me—

"Yes, mass'r, I'se been married; but it's no satisfaction for a man in this country."

"Why?"

"'Cause, mass'r," he replied, "you see white folks here don't know nothin' 'bout farmin'. They and then they go away again. So, we's never sartain of our girls 'bove a year or two."

When about fifty miles distant from Montgomery, I saw a young man of colour, well-dressed—rather a dandy, in fact—walking, in company with a country-looking slave, near the Railroad Dépôt. I overtook him and soon began to inquire into his history.

He spoke our language as correctly as any educated man does in ordinary conversation. He was a manly-looking person and very intelligent.

He was a slave; by trade a carpenter. He hired his own time—that is to say, he paid his proprietor $300 annually boarded and clothed himself and kept whatever money he made after defraying these expenses. He was 28 years of age. Last year he saved $100. Altogether, since he first felt a hope of purchasing his freedom, he had saved $930.

"How much does your boss ask for you?"

"He said he would not sell me for less than $2,500. He was offered $2,000 down. I hope to buy myself for less; I was raised with him from a child, and I expect he will let me buy my freedom for $2,400 on that account."

"$2,400!" I rejoined, "and you have only got $900 yet; why, it will take you 14 years to buy yourself at that rate."

"I know that, Sir," he replied, "but I can't help myself; you see he has the advantage of me."

"Yes," I returned, "but you have $900 worth of advantage over him. Once on the road you could travel rapidly to the North, as you could easily pay all your expenses. If I were in your situation I would see my boss ——— before I would give him one red cent. Can't you get any one to write you free papers?"

"That's what I want, Sir," he said—his eye flashed as he looked at me and said it—"but I am afraid to ask; I dare not trust any of the white men I know."

"I'll write them, if you will get me free papers to copy from. I don't know how free papers are worded; but if you can show me them, I'll soon make out yours."

He promised joyfully to furnish me with the "copy" desired, and appointed a place of meeting at Montgomery.

Alas! Either I mistook the name of the rendezvous, or by some accident have been unable to meet him. For three days I have sought him diligently but without success. But I have not yet abandoned all hope of meeting him. I shall devote the day that still remains to me to a search for the carpenter-slave.

—My washerwoman here, hires her own time, also. She pays $200 a year; living not with her proprietor but in a house rented by herself, and "finding herself" in everything necessary to existence.

—Another man I spoke with—a plasterer—pays his owner $600 annually. He is worth $4,000.

These persons never see their owners excepting when they pay their body-rent.

Is n't Slavery a *Patriarchal* Institution with a vengeance and a half?

The first thing I saw on entering Montgomery were three handbills, whose captions read respectively, thus—

1. "Negroes at Auction."
2. "Negroes at Auction."
3. "Negroes for Sale."

Three distinct sales within a few days were announced. I saw two of them. In one instance, the Auctioneer turned as cooly as an Iceberg Incarnate from the last negro for sale to a lot consisting of a mule with buggy and harness. Scarcely had the word—

"Gone!"

escaped his lips as he finished the sale of the "fellow," than he began—

"*The next lot* that I shall offer, gentlemen, is a mule, with a buggy and harness. This lot," &c., &c.

The negroes brought very high prices. The Hard Times so often alluded to in newspaper articles, at present, did not seem to affect the price of the negroes, although, as I was informed, it had been the cause of their sale.

The Eastern war is influencing the trade in humanity South, as well as mercantile operations North. Cotton is selling so low, that many planters have been compelled to dispose of a portion of the "live stock," to provide subsistance for the remainder.

Montgomery is a very handsome city. It supports two churches, two daily, one tri-weekly, and one weekly temperance paper. Population about 9,000. It is the capital of Alabama.

I have just heard of John Mitchel's fall. "So perish all Queen" Liberty's "enemies!" Amen! Selah! Joyfully,

JOHN BALL, JR.

P. S.—This is a very Godly city. It is true that its citizens sell human beings on the week days, but, then, let it be remembered, that a fine of $13 for every separate "weed," is rigorously imposed on every dealer who—sells—sells—*a cigar on Sunday!!!*

PETER AND LEVIN;

OR, THE STOLEN CHILDREN.

LITTLE infants! by the roadside,
Playing on a summer's day;—
Comes a stranger in a carriage,
Calls the unconscious boys at play:
"Will you take a ride, my fellows?
Will you ride with me away?"
Ah! the words and tones are honied,
Childhood artless! welaway!

Little negroes! ah! the colour
Of the surface aids the spoil:
Darker hues are made for thraldom!
Dyed for service! sunned for toil!
"Let them come, and ne'er forbid them;"
He who poured the holy oil
Of a language all God-given,
Knew their colour held no soil.

Little pilgrims! doomed to wander,
Home, nor rest again, to find!
Cries all vain for mother! father!
Hearts all deaf, and souls all blind!
But then, still one fond hope lingers
(Hope no manacles can bind!)—
Yon, across the fair Ohio,
Men are truer to their kind.

Little martyrs! so near freedom,
But the river winds afar:
Into its mixed muddied waters,
Deep has fallen many a star!
Levin finds the Father's haven;
One, alone, is left to war,—
In a clime that might be heaven,—
With all villanies that mar.

Little freeborn! now a father,
Now a grandsire, in thy chain;
Hoarding, slow, the meagre pittance
From the coffers, gorged with pain,
That thou may'st thine early freedom,
Thy lost birthright, haply gain;—
God hath sped thy glowing efforts,
Wife and child are thine again!

Little Peter! now the grandsire!
Must the ten-score coins be prest
From thy hard-worn bleeding fingers,
Ere can leave its fatal nest,
The lone infant, by Death severed
From the dusk-hued mother's breast?
Falsely name ye Alabama!
Falsely there ye take your rest!

What call us? friends! we who slumber
O'er the ills that so enshroud,
That the single case is severed,
Told in accents deep, not loud,
Ere it probe our sluggish spirits,
As the lightning to the cloud,
Flashing out one burning witness,
From the darkling, death-doomed crowd!

Milney, Jan. 13, 1855. A. P. C.

From our Boston Correspondent.

NO. CLXI.

THE ARGUMENT.—The Correspondent disserteth on Anti-Slavery necessities—The last Slave Case—Lying of the Slave-catchers—The Correspondent on their paternity—The "Usual Correction" escaped—Know Nothing Dynasty—Governor Gardner's Address—What he did say and what he might—Captain Cass and the Columbian Guards—Cashiering by wholesale—And why—Suggestions and Recommendations—The Irish Brigade—The Senatorship—The Caucus—Chances of Gen. Wilson—The Controlling power at work, &c. &c. &c.

BOSTON, Jan. 22, 1855.

IT is three weeks, I think, since I wrote to you last. A good many things have happened; but I am afraid that the bloom has been brushed off them before now. In fact, you should have a daily paper of the size of the *Journal of Commerce*, or thereabouts, in order to keep a fresh record of Slavery and Anti-Slavery enter as constituent elements. But, as there is no immediate prospect that the public, notwithstanding tickets to Anti-Slavery lectures are run after as Grisi's and Mario's Opera tickets are here (not as they were in New York), will demand such an accommodation just yet, I must be content to go on in my old slip-shod way and tell you what happens to come uppermost of the medley in my brain, though it is altogether likely that you will have told everything to your readers that I can think of at this short notice.

I came very near having a new Slave Case to tell you of, as I see you know without my telling. We were in a state of great uneasiness, for a day or two, not knowing but we might have another Burns case on our hands. But it passed off, for this time. I see that the United States Authorities pretend to deny that there was any occasion for such an alarm. But, like their Father the Devil, they are liars from the beginning, and will be to the end. When they have a slave to catch, it is always on the lying pretence that the arrest is for some crime of which the man knows that he is innocent, and thus secure themselves from his rightful self-defence. And when they have been baulked of their game, as in this case and that at New Bedford, a year or two ago, then they deny that they ever had any such design! And as it is imprudent to let them know the ways and means by which the information was had, and inasmuch as it is immaterial, after their prey has escaped them, to show that such is the fact, they have the truth at a temporary disadvantage. Nothing, however, could be better authenticated than the facts of this case. You will see, by the accounts you have copied from the *Telegraph*, how the slave-hunter was hunted, and not only his words overheard, but his writing read on the Commissioner's desk, and his whole course watched from the beginning to the end. It is said that he was not very far from falling into a well-contrived trap laid by the coloured people, in which case he would not, probably, have escaped in a whole skin. It is not likely he would have got off with less than "the usual correction," such as poor Sims received in Savannah jail, and would, in all probability, have been discharged cured of negro-catching for the rest of his life.

I believe I have not written to you since Whiggery died and was buried, and Know-Nothingism reigned in its stead—at least, since the new dynasty was inaugurated in the person of Gov. Gardner. His Inaugural was long enough for a President's Message, and, in great measure, taken up with the Know-Nothing crotchets. The Free Soil portion of the Order seemed to be grateful for the very small favour he showed in their direction, by asking the Legislature to inquire if something could not be done to secure the operation of the Habeas Corpus and the protection of the inhabitants in their personal freedom. There was no allusion to the infamies of the last year—no proposition to make Slave-catching a State prison offence, and to protect fugitives from oppression by the interposition of the entire physical force of the State. He did recommend the passage of a law forbidding the foreign-born inhabitants from bearing arms in the militia; but there was no suggestion of the disarming of men who hold their military organizations at the service of the negro-catchers. I wonder whether we shall ever have a Governor that will have the pluck to walk straight up to the Cat which is ever crouching ready for a spring upon us and put the bell right round its neck! Of course we shall have, as soon as the people are ready to demand it. What we need is, to put the law on the side of liberty, and between the weakest of our citizens and their tyrants. Massachusetts must be brought up to the point of being ready to stand up face to face with the General Government and nullify the laws which require her to defile and disgrace herself. When she is ready to be a Northern South Carolina, the Fugitive Slave Law will be as dead as the Protective Tariff. But will she ever be brought up to that point? I fear it will be long first, unless the Slave Power will be kind enough to do something unequivocal that will touch the pocket, that tenderest part of the Organization of the Universal American.

Immediately after his accession to office, the Columbian Guards, I think they were called, by their gallant commander, Captain Cass, surrendered their charter to His Excellency, on the ground that they were a company of foreign extraction. Captain Cass broke his sword, even as Colonel Cass did at Hull's Surrender. I could not but think of the ingratitude of Republics, when I remembered that this gallant corps was the very first on the ground, on the prescription of Doctor Smith, as a remedy for the intestinal disturbances of Boston. I well remember their impudent looks and demeanour that first day that they came to the rescue of the Nation from the hands of the traitor Burns. And this is their reward! And not only theirs; but, a day or two afterwards, the Governor, as Commander in Chief, issued a General Order disbanding all the other Companies of which the composition was chiefly Irish. Now, I could have given these brave fellows a certificate of good conduct. There were none of the Sims Brigade more prompt on the ground, or more zealous in the good work, on the day of the Great Triumph. Why should they be disbanded? They were first in the field on the only occasions on which actual service has been demanded of the Brigade. And as the only possible use the volunteer companies can ever be put to is the safe-conduct of slaves and slave-catchers from the barracoon to the slaver, it seems hard that these fine fellows should be thus lost to the service of their country. At a time when Great Britain is invoking the aid of a Foreign Legion, and with the memories of Fontenoy fresh in their minds, it must have been a bitter thing for the Irish Brigade to be kicked out of the service of the State. But Negro-catching is, perhaps, too holy a vocation for any but the bluest-blooded Yankees. Thank Heaven, the General Government is not yet in the hands of these pragmatical Genealogists! Byrnes and Pat Rfley are left to us yet!

The prettiest *row* we have had yet (the forerunner, it is to be hoped, of many yet to come), growing out of the new political arrangements, has been in regard to the United States Senatorship. I believe I told you, in my last, of the trouble that was looked for, the candidates that were ready to be offered on the altar of their country, and of the healing Caucus which was to cure all disorders. Well, the Caucus was held, last Friday week, to select a candidate to be voted for on the next Tuesday, which had been appointed as the fatal day. The Know-Nothings being the entire Government, the decree of King Caucus was looked upon as the *fiat* of Destiny. When the vote came to be taken, Gen. Wilson had a majority of more than *fifty*, which was thought to be a final settlement of the whole matter. But it was found that Whigs are Whigs still, even after they have renounced all their pretensions to knowledge. The Whig leaven is very slow to work out of the human system, and so did poor Gen. Wilson find it in this case. Another General was brought into the field against him, Gen. Devereux by name, of Salem, who led on the hosts of Whiggery to the fight. And on the trial vote, to postpone the Election for a week, the Whig and Democratic Allies were triumphant. So the Election was put off till to-morrow, to give a week's time for log-rolling and *lobbying*, if there be such a word—and if not, there ought to be. How it will end will be better known after to-morrow. A heavy pressure has been put on, of course, from Washington and the other parts of the country, representing the danger to the National hopes of the party, if there be any taint of Abolitionism allowed to infect the veins of the pure Native American Party. So that the question of Gen. Wilson's election really takes an Anti-Slavery shape, and is an object of [illegible] this new party, as it has every other that was big enough to be seen, from the beginning. Of course, they will at the end. If some other man is put in the place which undoubtedly belongs to him, by whatever virtue there is in political truck and dicker, it is to be hoped that it will be but the opening of the ball, and that we shall have a diverting succession of Fancy Dances, by the entire force of the company, before the play is over.

I have a strong suspicion that this is a mighty stupid letter. But, if you say nothing about it, perhaps the readers won't find it out. D. Y.

THE AMERICAN LIBERAL.—We have received the first No. of a new journal, under this title, published at Cleveland, Ohio. Though published in English, it is intended more particularly for the German population of the United States, and is evidently edited by Germans. But it is American—in the best sense of that term—in its tone and spirit, and advocates principles which will be the true glory of this country, if she ever has any. In that respect it is in marked contrast to the press generally, as it takes high ground upon the slavery question, and makes it paramount to all other questions which concern, or occupy the American people. We rejoice at the establishment of a journal, distinguished by such marked ability, which aims at establishing so wholesome an influence over the Americo-Germans, and which, at the same time, is not placed, by its language, beyond the reach of the mass of their native fellow-citizens. We cordially give the *Liberal* a God-speed.

PETER STILL AND HIS FAMILY.—A meeting for the benefit of this interesting family, and to hear a narrative of their history and some of their extraordinary adventures, will be held this (Saturday) evening, at Franklin Hall, in Philadelphia. It will be addressed by J. M. McKim, Peter Still and others.

We hope to have a similar meeting in this city, and understand that one of the same kind is in contemplation for Boston.

Peter and his family are located for the winter, at Burlington, N. J., but we learn that they are willing to attend any meetings that may be got up to hear their story, provided it can be done without too much inconvenience to themselves, and with a prospect of benefit to the cause, sufficient to justify the trouble and expense.

THIS WEEK'S PAPER.—We refer the reader to the Fourth Page of this week's paper for certain articles which, under ordinary circumstances, would find a place on the First, preferring to omit the miscellaneous matter with which the former is usually filled rather than leave out till another week, the articles referred to. We particularly call attention to those from the (London) *Anti-Slavery Advocate* on the recent conference in London.

S. M. BOOTH, convicted of aiding in the escape of a fugitive slave, was sentenced in the United States District Court, at Milwaukee, on the 22d inst., to pay a fine of one thousand dollars, and be imprisoned one month. John Reynolds, for the same offence, was sentenced in a fine of two hundred dollars, and an imprisonment of ten days.

THE RELIGIOUS HERALD of Hartford, Ct., complains of us for crediting a poem, entitled "Borrroboola Gha," which we copied two or three weeks since, to the *Albany Atlas*, instead of to itself where it originally appeared. We found it in an exchange credited to *The Atlas*, and "followed copy." It escaped our notice in *The Herald*.

HENRY WILSON was chosen United States Senator from Massachusetts, by the lower house of her Legislature, on Tuesday last, by about one hundred majority. The election is still to be made in the Senate, and takes place on the 31st inst. It will probably conc

MR. BEECHER'S LECTURE.

(Continued from First Page.)

them, that I am glad that a movement is on foot to regulate the conduct of new-comers among us, and oblige them to pass through a longer probation before they become citizens. In so far as I understand the practical measures proposed and set forth in the Message of the Governor of Massachusetts, I approve them.

But I ask you, fellow-citizens, whether the simple accident of birth is a basis broad enough for a permanent National party? Is it *a principle*, even? Is it a mere fact.

Ought we not to look a little at what a man is, *after* he is born, as well as at the place where? Especially, when we remember that Arnold was born in Connecticut and La Fayette in France.

If, then, a party is American, ought it not to to be because it represents those principles which are fundamental to Americn Institutions and to American policy? principles which stand in contrast with European Institutions and policy?

Which of these two theories, the Northern or Southern, is the American? The North has one theory, the South another; which of them is to be called *the American* idea? Which is American —Northern ideas or Southern ideas? that which declares all men free, or that which declares the superior races free, and the inferior slaves?

That which declares the right of every man to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—or that which declares the right of strength and intelligence to subordinate weakness and ignorance?

That which ordains popular education, freedom of speech, freedom of the press, public discussion —or that which makes these a prerogative, yielded to a class, but denied to masses?

That which organizes Society as a Democracy and Government as a Republic—or that which organizes Society as an Aristocracy, and Government as an Oligarchy?

Which shall it be—that which organized New England townships, schools, and churches—that resisted taxation without representation—that covered Boston harbour with tea, as if all China had shook down her leaves there—which spake from Faneuil Hall, and echoed from Bunker Hill; or that policy which landed slaves on the Chesapeake—that has changed Old Virginia from a land of heroes into a breeding-ground of slaves—that has broken down boundaries, and carried war over our lines, not for liberty, but for more territory for slaves to work, that the owners might multiply, and the aristocracy of American stand on the shores of two oceans, an unbroken band all between?

If *a National* American party is ever formed, by leaving out the whole question of Human Rights, it will be what a man would be—his soul left out!

An American National party—Liberty left out!

An American party—Human Rights left out!

Gentlemen, such a party will stink with dissolution before you can get it finished. No Masonry can make it solid—no art can secure it. No anchor that was ever forged in infernal stythy can go deep enough into political mud to hold it!

If you rear up an empty name; if you take that revered name, America! all the world over radiant and revered, as the symbol of human rights and human happiness—if you sequester and stuff that name with the effete doctrines of despotism, do you believe you can supplicate from any gods the boon of immortality for such an unbaptized monster? No. It may live to ravage our heritage for a few days, but there *is* a spirit of liberty that lives among us, and that shall live. And aroused by that spirit, there shall spring up the yet unaroused hosts of men that have not bowed the knee to Baal—and we will war it to the knife, and knife to the hilt, and knife and hilt to the throat and heart.

For, IT SHALL be, America *shall be free*.

We will take that for our life's enterprise. Dying, we will leave it a legacy to our children, and they shall roll it on to theirs, until the work is done, our fathers' prayers are answered, and this whole land stands clothed and in its right mind—a symbol of what the earthly fruits of the Gospel are!

If a National party is now to be formed, what shall it be, and what shall its office be?

It shall be a peacemaker, say sly politicians. Yes, peace by war. But an American party, seeking peace with imperious Aristocracy by yielding everthing down to the root—one would think no party need be formed to do that. Judas did as much without company. Arnold did that without companions.

An American National party must either be a pie-bald and patched up party, carrying in its entrails the mortal poison of two belligerent schemes, forever engendering disputes, and agitation, and furious conflict; or, to be a real national party, it must first be a *Northern* party and *become* national. We must walk again over the course of history. Here in the North, Liberty began. Its roots are with us yet. All its associations and all its potent institutions are with us. Having once given forth the spirit of liberty, now fading out of our Southern States, the North should again come forth and refill the poisoned veins that have been drinking the hemlock of Despotism with the new blood of Liberty!

When Hercules was born, but yet a child, the jealous Juno sent two serpents to his cradle to destroy him. Hercules or the serpent must die. Both could not lie in the same bed. He seized them and suffocated them by his grip. While his poor brother Iphiclus, filled the house with his shrieks. An infernal Juno, envious of the destined greatness of this country, hath sent a hideous serpent upon it! What shall we do? Shall we imitate Hercules or Iphiclus? Shall we choke it; or shall we form a timid *National* party, and *shriek*.

Gentlemen, you will never have rest from this subject until there is a victory of principles. Northern ideas must become American, or Southern ideas must become *American*, before there will be peace. If the North gives to the Nation her radical principles of human rights and democratic Governments, there will be the peace of an immeasurable prosperity. If the South shall give to the country a policy derived from her heathen notions of men, there will be such a peace as men have overdrugged with opium—that deep lethargy just before the mortal convulsions and death! All attempts at evasion, at adjourning, at concealing and compromising are in vain. The reason of our long agitation is, not that restless Abolitionists are abroad, that ministers will meddle with improper themes, that parties are disregardful of the country's interest. These are symptoms only, not the disease; the effects, not the causes.

Two great powers that will not live together are in our midst, and tugging at each other's throats. They will search each other out, though you separate them a hundred times. And if by an insane blindness you shall contrive to put off the issue, and send this unsettled dispute down to your children, it will go down, gathering volume and strength at every step, to waste and desolate their heritage. Let it be settled now. Clear the place. Bring in the champions. Let them put their lances in rest for the charge. Sound the trumpet, and *God save the right!*

The latter portion of the lecture was frequently interrupted by boisterous applause.

After Mr. Beecher had taken his seat, there were loud calls for Mr. GIDDINGS, whereupon that gentleman came forward and said that he had not come there to make a speech, but, like a good Methodist brother, he would add his exhortation to the excellent sermon of his clerical friend. In conclusion, Mr. Giddings besought all to enter heartily into the contest for Freedom—to trust in God and keep their powder dry! (Loud applause.)

IRVING'S RESIDENCE.—The house at "Sunnyside," in which Washington Irving resides, is one he built some three years ago. It is about two and a half miles below Tarrytown, directly on the banks of the Hudson. It is built on the site of "Van Tassel House." In fact, the new structure includes a portion of the old walls. At an earlier day it was called Wolfert's Roost—Wolfert Acker being one of the Privy Councillors of the renowned Peter Stuyvesant. Afterward it came into the possession of the Van Tassels. It was here that the quilting party and dance took place, so graphically described in the Legends of Sleepy Hollow. It was here that the unfortunate Ichabod Crane and Brow Bows unequivocally met, both being suitors for the hand and heart of Kate Van Tassel. Your readers will recall the amusing incidents of that story, and especially the last appearance of Ichabod Crane. A weather cock, of miserable appearance, is perched on the gable-end of the main building. It was once the ornament of the old Stadt House of New York, in the time of the old Dutch rule. The house is surrounded by trees—some wild and some planted by Irving. The buildings are nearly covered with vines and creepers. The Trumpet flower and the Ivy-vine are the most conspicuous of them. The ivy, that grows unusually rank, has a peculiar interest. It was brought from Melrose Abbey, near Abbotsford, Scotland, some twenty years ago. It was brought by a Mrs. Trenwick, an intimate friend of Mr. Irving, and planted at "Sunnyside" by her own fair hands. This lady was a Miss Jean Jeffrey. Her father was a minister, and it was of this lovely girl, then about 17, that Burns wrote two beautiful stanzas, among the gems of his poetry.—*Correspondent of Detroit Tribune.*

Selections.

WHERE ARE WE DRIFTING?

It is often asked, if the North are so immeasurably superior to the South in intelligence, moral power and wealth, why has the South gained political power so rapidly for the past fifty years, until now she controls the policy of this nation?

The reason is two-fold?

1. The North is a community of industries. Every man is busy in building up his home, and enriching it for his children. Our Northern people are educated to intensely mind their own business. But the south has a different state of society. Slave labour sets free from industry a large class of men, who, being aristocrats, not by nature alone, but by the organization of Southern society, have any degree of leisure to attend to politics.

There is, then, a very different aptitude for power between the North and the South.

Northern society is democratic; Southern, aristocratic. A democracy tends to produce power, but *distributes* it. An aristocracy *produces* but little, but it absorbs and concentrates power, never distributing. The North strengthens *society;* the South, *government*. The North makes the citizens full, self-reliant, productive, independent. Such men do not cohere easily into pliant parties. The South finds an easy task in forming parties of plastic elements, and wielding them effectively. The first reason for the gradual superiority of the South in political power, then, lies in the fact that an aristocracy, in its very nature, is better adapted for the absorption and the retention of power than is a democracy, which, in its nature, generates power, but disperses it among individuals.

2. There is a second reason yet more subtle, and more dangerous.

The North is industrious and productive. Each man thrives, and seeks to thrive. The interior idea and essential spirit of our community, is for each man to build up his little kingdom of a family.

It is not the sordid love of money. It is not a grasping, avaricious, selfish spirit of commerce. It is a national disposition to strengthen the individual and the family by productive industry. Out of this grows, sometimes, to be sure, selfishness; but generally an over-concern for one's own affairs, and a neglect of national affairs. Citizens want a national policy that will leave them room to work, and a certainty of acquiring.

Now, it is through this known feeling of the North, that the South has contrived to bribe and seduce her from fidelity to her own more sacred principles.

It has been subtley said, You shall have leisure and peace, if you will only acquiesce in such and such measures. These measures were subtle changes in favour of absolutism and against republicanism. At each aggrsesive step the South has been fiercely met at first by the indignant North; but, as a thief quiets a dog with a bit of poisoned meat thrown to him, so the South have cast to the North a temptation peculiarly seductive to men who are given to industry. Thus, for the sake of peace, for the sake of avoiding agitations unfavourable to commerce and productive industry, the North has gradually yielded step by step, until now, if new slave States are carved out of Kansas, there will be no more to give. The balance of power will change. The South will be able to control and dictate policy without circumspection or subtle bribes. That day is not far off.

When it comes, what will the North do? So soon as her connection with the South begins to be a practical and home annoyance, and touch the interest of the North, she will rise up, like Lazarus, bound hand and foot with grave clothes, and demand that she be loosed and set free. In that day, our Union will be like flax before flame. When the Union promotes thrift, its value is beyond all computing. When it is *against* thrift, it will be found that its value will be less than salt without its savour. It will be cast out, and trodden under foot of men.

We are marching as straight upon disunion as ever people did, and blindfolded. For peace and Union sake, we are giving the South an advantage, which, when once secured, they will use to goad the North to inevitable rupture. Those men who council peace and acquiescence now, council disunion and belligerency hereafter. Their words are smoother than oil, but the poison of asps is under their tongues. It is always so. Men will not foresee. Our fathers did forsee; their children have not the gift. We shall probably go on, and when the work is done, and every omen and sagacious prediction comes to pass, then we shall wonder, and repent, and build the sepulchres of the men that now we execrate.

The facility with which the aroused indignation of the whole North has been extinguished by the miserable perfidy of the so-called American party, is mortifying, and sorrowfully prophetic. By years of persistent labour, the conscience and honour of multitudes of the North had been aroused. They began to see and value the real principles fundamental to American institutions. Under the shallow pretense that Know-Nothing lodges would, by-and-by, become the champions of liberty, as now they are of the Protestant faith, thousands have been inveigled into these catacombs of freedom. One might as well study optics in the pyramids of Egypt, or the subterranean tombs of Rome, as liberty in secret conclaves controlled by hoary knaves versed in political intrigue, who can hardly enough express their surprise and delight to find honest men going into a wide-spread system of secret caucuses. Honest men in such places have the peculiar advantage that flies have in a spider's web—the privilege of losing their legs, of buzzing without flying, and of being eaten up at leisure by big-bellied spiders!

We are heartily agreed with the original movers of the Know-Nothing enterprise, that the foreign population require special attention. Their naturalization should be after a longer probation; the offices, State and Municipal, should not be filled up with hungry foreigners; the American language should be the only one in which public documents should be printed, and every means should be employed to break up distinctly foreign organizations in our midst, and to promote a speedy absorption and digestion of the whole foreign element. But while these ends command our approval, we disapprove of a method of accomplishing them which is at variance with the whole spirit of our institutions, and which enables crafty politicians to turn the organization into a tool for purposes of private ambition and of Southern domination.

Already the enthusiasm of the North burns like a flame—a mephitic gas. Strong men are weak. They that were wise of speech are dumb, and many a Sampson has arisen from the lap of this Delilah, shorn and weak. It only remains that they should carry out Sampson's history, grind awhile in eyeless solitude, and they will be ready to free themselves, and destroy their foes, by bowing themselves upon the very pillars on which our temple of liberty stands, and gain their release amid the ruins of the Union!

When will men understand that simple, open integrity, an unflinching adhesion to PRINCIPLE, is the peculiar advantage of Truth and Liberty. All that the right asks is air, light, an open enemy, and room to strike. It is Wrong, that sneaks in the dark, and gains by the stiletto.—*H. W. Beecher, in the Independent of the* 18th.

WHERE ARE THE KNOW-NOTHINGS?

At the recent elections efforts were made to divert the naturalized citizens from casting their votes in favour of an independent Anti-Slavery Policy—by exhibiting to them the danger of Nativeism and Know-Nothingism, both of which were said to be entertained by the Republican or Fusion Party.

The Democratic papers, well aware of the prevalency of the anti-slavery sentiment among the German population, sought to appear as defenders and protectors of the rights of the adopted citizens. They manifested a great deal of care to enlighten the "foreigners," in regard to the warm reception which they had always met with in the Democratic ranks, and in regard to the broad and liberal platform of this party with respect to the emigration.

Their intention could not be misunderstood. The Pierce and Douglass Party, which had to suffer the loss of many votes of the Anglo-American citizens of the North, endeavoured by this measure to compensate that loss by obtaining in their stead the votes of credulous Germans and Irish. The most silly phrases (as for instance, that those who are striving for the liberation of slaves, intended to enslave the white emigrants themselves) were freely used to accomplish the object. Much confusion was doubtlessly produced by these means, but a great part of the adopted citizens soon discovered the dishonourable motive intended to frighten, and deceive them. The elections have sufficiently shown in what scale the naturalized citizens, and especially the Germans, have cast their votes.

In general we may take it as a fact that the naturalized citizens find their rights best protected by the party which commands the greater part of their votes. As soon, therefore, as the discovery was made by the Democratic party that the days of the "regular ticket" and the "whole ticket" had gone by, and that a large portion of the German votes were to be cast "Anti-Nebraska," its enthusiasm for the foreigners and the naturalizations laws considerably abated.

There is now realized what we long predicted. Parties and men, who are unfavourable to the enjoyment of human rights by the negro, will not be expected to extend them to the frequently poor and helpless emigrants.

Those preferring slave to free labour, by no means intend to enhance the position of, and give protection to, the free labourers. Those, who, from the narrow stand-point of Southern Rights, look jealously and apprehensively upon the growing of the Northern States, cannot be expected to bear feelings favourable towards the European emigration, to whom the Northern States are in a great degree owing their growing prosperity.

Slavery men constitute the Lodges of the Know-Nothings.

The pro-slavery Whigs and pro-slavery Democrats can clasp hands upon the field of Nativeism. Atchison and the ultra Pro-Slavery men of Missouri, who by slavery have almost ruined their parent States, and propagate the extension of slavery to Kansas, are the most fanatic Natives.

Adams, the Senator from Mississippi, a wool-dyed pro-slavery propagandist, took the lead in moving in Congress for the change of Naturalization Laws. Fillmore, Clayton, Thompson and all the pro-slavery Whigs, so many times denounced by the American People, are the cornerstones of the secret Lodges. They have succeeded in having the discussion on slavery interdicted from the Know-Nothing Lodges.

So the Know-Nothings stand now on the Baltimore Platform, Fugitive Slave law, and the doctrine of Non-Intervention. They stand upon the ground upon which the Nebraska Bill was originated—on the ground of Southern privileges and particular interests. If there is anything which will nerve the naturalized citizen to an energetic anti-slavery policy, it is this one fact.

Besides this, there is only one single and reasonable policy, the adherence and faith towards principles. All other compromises are of a short duration. The circumspect combinations of the interests, the caution not to wound prejudices, the compromise between good and evil, have always deceived and proved illusory. However different the interests of men may be, one thing is certain, and may be applied to either as well as to every case, the greatest advantage is always where most right and liberty exists.—*The (Cleveland) American Liberal.*

THE RECENT ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE IN LONDON.

An Anti-Slavery Conference was held in London, on the 29th and 30th of November, at so late a time in the month that it was out of our power to give any account of its proceeding in our last number. The gathering was first spoken of at a small anti-slavery meeting held in Edinburgh, about fifteen months ago (as an offset of the Peace Conference there), and was finally convened, after some hesitation, by the officers and under the auspices of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Since Mr. Chamerovzow succeeded Mr. Scoble, a change seemed to have come over that society. Instead of the obstructive policy for which they had become notorious, it might have been reasonably inferred from the language, and, as we believe, the disposition of their new secretary, that the committee (which for all executive purposes is the society) had become convinced of their past error, and had determined to turn over a new leaf.

Those friends of the anti-slavery cause on this side of the Atlantic, who had long lamented and protested against the narrow and injudicious policy of the New Broad steet Committee, in confining their sympathy and coöperation within sectarian bounds, and withholding all fellowship from the best known, most laborious, highly gifted, and energetic of the American Abolitionists, on purely sectarian objections, were rejoiced to see the dawning of a brighter day upon the proceedings of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. They gladly listened, though with many misgivings, to the assurances of Mr. Chamerovzow that a change was coming round, and that it needed but time, patience, and forbearance to ensure a hearty union and coöperation between his society and those faithful American Aoolitionists whom they had so long ceased to recognise, much less to assist. The British adherents of the American Anti-Slavery Society knew that the New Broad street Committee included the names of many respectable and wealthy men, enjoying that sort of anti-slavery reputation which passes current with the British public, although earned on very different terms from those by which Garrison, Phillips, Pillsbury, and their compeers have won their reputation. Still they felt that the coöperation of these men might be a material help to the true anti-slavery workers, if it could be honourably obtained; and they tried to hope for the best. As a small earnest of this better spirit, some well known friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society were invited to seats on the platform, at the great meeting of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, held in Exeter Hall, in May, 1853, to welcome Mrs. Stowe. And at their last annual meeting, Mr. Pillsbury was invited to attend and to express his views on the state of the anti-slavery cause in America. Encouraged by such tokens of kindly feeling, the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society looked forward to the late Conference with glad anticipation. They hoped to obtain a cordial acknowledgment of the services of that society, and to witness a disposition to welcome its friends, and assist them in future in their energetic and devoted labours. The Convention has been held, and all these expectations have been totally disappointed. The leading members of the New Broad street Committee have declared, in words or in substance, that no consideration could induce them to recognise the American Anti-Slavery Society, although they were willing to pass and did pass a general resolution of sympathy with the American Abolitionists. It was the opinion of Mr. George Thompson that this general resolution should be accepted.

Now, let us test the value of the resolution in question. If sincerely meant, in the plain sense of the words, it must have included the members of the American Society; and no sufficient objection could exist to name that society specifically. If not meant in the sense of the words, as it was clear that it was not, to whom then did it allude? We know there are multitudes, perhaps hundreds of thousands, in the free States, who are anti-slavery in the sense of *disliking* slavery; who would rather it were abolished than not; but whose hostility to the system is not strong enough to keep them from adhesion to a pro-slavery church, or a pro-slavery political party, or from voting for a slaveholder to fill the highest office in the gift of the people. But these are not Abolitionists who hate slavery thoroughly, who make their desire for its overthow the guiding star and test of all their views of morals, politics and religion. It is our opinion that of such Abolitionists as these very few will be found outside the pale of the American Anti-Slavery Society. If this resolution of general sympathy had been quietly accepted, how would the friends of the American Society have looked, when they learned, as they would have been sure to do very soon, that it had not been intended to include their society; and that the New Broad street Committee had not in the least changed the exclusive spirit which governed them throughout the long, gloomy, and bitter reign of John Scoble? However, we are glad to know exactly what will be the future course of the New Broad street Society, though we are grieved to find the American Abolitionists will be so little aided by it. We are especially glad that this opportunity has been afforded to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, to state publicly to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society the wrongs that Committee has inflicted on the cause of the slave, by hostility to his American friends; and that the Committee, by their silence, have *admitted* these statements, and virtually pledged themselves to refrain from similar conduct in future.

A few nights since we attended a meeting of a local anti-slavery society, convened for the purpose of hearing a report of the London Conference from a prominent and influential member of the Society of Friends, who had been appointed a delegate to that gathering. He enlarged upon the reports given by some missionaries who were present at the Conference, respecting the happiness and prosperity of the emancipated Negroes in the West Indies. He detailed M. Victor Schœlcher's account of the abolition of slavery in the colonial possessions of France. He alluded to the plans for promoting the growth of free labour cotton in India and in the United States. He touched on the question of Cuba, that very ripe pear which is about to drop, in spite of all opposition, into the capacious maw of the United States. He freely admitted the immense and overwhelming importance of the question of American slavery, and that in America the chief battle of slavery must be fought. But he was exceedingly disturbed by the determined pertinacity of Mr. Pillsbury, in enforcing upon the Conference the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the confidence and coöperation of all true Abolitionists. He admitted Mr. Pillsbury's earnestness and sincerity, but these drew forth no expression of warm and kindly sympathy from him; yet he pronounced a eulogy on Mr. Price, of Neath, one of the chairmen of the Conference, a wealthy iron-master, and an active member of the British and Foreign Society, who stopped Mr. Pillsbury in his most instructive speech in relation to Cuba, begging him to keep to the question, and accusing him of *railing* at the Americans. He was equally pleased with the dignity and forbearance of another Chairman, Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool, who bore so patiently with Mr. Pillsbury's determination to be heard, as he showed how far from just or magnanimous the past course of the New Broad street Committee had been; and how the Society of Friends, to which so many of the Committee belong, no longer upholds in the United States its ancient and noble position in the van of anti-slavery reform. Mr. Pillsbury referred also to the defence of American Friends towards that infamous slaveholder, Henry Clay; to the virtual expulsion of anti-slavery Friends from the Yearly Meeting of Indiana; to the mission of Friends, several of them members of the New Broad street Committee, to Indiana for the purpose of recommending submission to the pro-slavery majority, although the anti-slavery handful had acted in strict accordance with the advice given forth in the London Yearly Meeting, to be valiant in the anti-slavery cause, and to unite with their fellow-citizens of other professions in its prosecution.

All these things, and many others equally pertinent and true, Mr. Pillsbury said, and in so saying gave great offence to the delegate, who did not deny the truth of the statements, but thought them "in bad taste," and very burdensome to the Conference. We know that what Mr. Pillsbury said was true, and are sure it was loudly called for by the occasion.

Here is a British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Committee, composed chiefly of members of the Society of Friends, which has taken on itself to malign, to ignore, to misrepresent, and to obstruct the most courageous, straightforward, devoted, consistent, and disinterested philanthropic association the world has ever seen; we mean the American Anti-Slavery Society; and shall these Friends not be told of their shortcomings, and the sins against the slave committed by themselves and their fellow professors? For, unfortunately, the American Friends are no exception to the general pro-slavery character with which the love of gain and the desire for an easy time to grow rich in, have clothed the great majority of the American people. Parker Pillsbury is not the man to withhold a needful testimony, out of fear or favour. If there had been time, he could have treated other sects to an equally unpleasant peep into his magic mirror.

As, for some reason unknown to us, the British and Foreign Committee have decided to withdraw their countenance from Mr. Lewis Tappan's Society, which has for many years past maintained a sickly existence under the name of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and was once a great pet with New Broad street, there now remains no organized anti-slavery association in the United States with which the British and Foreign Committee will condescend to fraternize. Consequently, whilst they nobly resolved to *sympathize* with all Abolitionists in America, they have no suggestion to offer as to *doing* anything in particular. A droll conclusion of an anti-slavery Conference, but, in this case, a perfectly honest and consistent one; since it is just what they have been doing for the last fourteen years; except in so far as they have succeeded in impeding or baffling the actual labours of others.

It struck us as particularly absurd that the delegate aforesaid, after portraying the tediousness and bad taste of Mr. Pillsbury with much feeling, remarked that although probably some present might not coincide with the spirit of the account just given, yet he hoped they would lay aside their unfavourable views of the British and Foreign Committee, and from henceforth work with them, and give them all the aid in their power. We are at a loss to understand what kind of anti-slavery coöperation is hoped for or intended, on this plan of refusing recognition to those who give money, talents, toil and time, to the slave's cause in America—not from dislike to their anti-slavery measures, but because some of them differ from us in some of their ideas on other questions. Such conduct is like the folly of the soldier who should declare himself ready for battle, but insist on leaving his weapons behind; or the workman who should boast that he was most anxious for employment, but absolutely refuse to handle his tools. We doubt the anti-slavery sincerity of those who ask for such coöperation. We suspect that if the members of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or this delegate, were by any chance reduced to bondage, they would not scruple to accept of the services of Garrison or Parker, Phillips, Mott or Pillsbury for their liberation.

We acquit Mr. Chamerovzow of the intention to hold out any false hopes to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society; but we cannot say as much for his employers, who must have known Mr. Chamerovzow's wishes and labours for a union of all the friends of the anti-slavery cause; and that in inviting them to London, at this inclement season of the year, and putting them to expense and trouble, they were encouraging expectations which they had not only no intention to realize, but were determined, as far as lay in their power, to frustrate.

It was given as a reason, by some of the speakers at the Convention, for withholding recognition of the American Anti-Slavery Society, that they know little of it, and could not pledge themselves to approve what they did not understand. Passing over the absurdity of a vote of sympathy with a class, whilst declining to include its principal element on such a plea as this, the ignorance of a majority of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society respecting the American Abolitionists, their objects and efforts, is unquestionable. It was palpable at the London Anti-Slavery Convention in 1840. This ignorance continued unbroken up to the retirement of Mr. Scoble and the accession of Mr. Chamerovzow to the editorship of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*. All information respecting the American Anti-Slavery Society, their meetings and conventions, the achievements and sufferings of their agents, the newspapers they published, their contests with the churches and political parties, and their wonderful success in directing public attention to the slave system—all this was deliberately excluded from the *Reporter*, and the anti-slavery repast served up to the British public in its columns was so dry, so destitute of warmth and savour, that it found but a handful of readers in the three kingdoms.

A striking instance of this ignorance was shewn in an objection made by the delegate to the portrait drawn by Mr. Pillsbury of the pro-slavery character of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. If any one fact be better known than another of the shortcomings of religious societies in the United States, it is that this Board has been amongst the most time-serving and unprincipled in its deference to the demands of the Slave Power.

The delegate regretted that the agreeable savour which prevailed throughout the first sitting of the Convention was disturbed by the introduction of Rev. Mr. Bishop's amendment, and the consequent discussion; and that this peaceful calm was utterly dissipated by Mr. Pillsbury's introduction of a distinct and substantive resolution reviewing the American Society. When men have a real work to do, they assemble to effect it, and not to seek for states of mind. The anti-slavery cause is a real struggle with the powers of evil, and not an intellectual Turkish bath for the promotion and indulgence of states of pleasing tranquility. As the Friends in the early days of Fox, Penn and Barclay fought a real battle, in the teeth of neglect, contumely and persecution, against ancient dogmas and mischievous conventionalities; so the true opponents of slavery of the present day have a contest as real with the love of gold, of power, and of ease. Ever since William Lloyd Garrison commenced his single-handed struggle in 1830, to the present hour, the politicians and religious professors have entreated to be let alone, and have asked to be taken on their own estimate of themselves. But in vain. The Abolitionists cannot let them alone. They must insist on bringing them to the test; on asking for works instead of words; for a hearty coöperation instead of a lifeless and worthless profession. This is the head and front of the offence which the American Anti-Slavery Society has given to the hollow lovers of liberty and the mere professors of religion in America, as well as to all who sympathize with them in other countries.

To those who wish to know the claims of the American Anti-Slavery Society to the confidence of all true friends of the slave, we earnestly recommend a perusal of a "Brief Notice of American Slavery and of the Abolition Movement," by J. B. Estlin, Esq., and "The Objects and Principles of the American Anti-Slavery Society," by William Lloyd Garrison, both published in the series of Leeds Anti-Slavery Tracts.—*The (London) Anti-Slavery Advocate.*

THE SLAVE CASE—SLAVES SET FREE.

The State of Ohio, on relation of P. B. Sarchet, against A. W. Graham. Habeas Corpus—before JAMES DELONG, Probate Judge of Guernsey Co., Ohio.

This writ was issued for the purpose of taking from the custody of A. W. Graham two negro boys, and bringing them before said Judge, to try the right of said Graham to said custody.

The principal facts, as they appear upon the papers on file in the case, were these: One of the boys, whose name is Enoch, aged 10 years, is the slave of N. M. Lee, of Richmond, Ga., and the other, named Lewis, aged 9 years, is the slave of T. Nowdigate, of Kentucky. That about the 5th day of December, 1854, the owners of said boys put them in charge of said N. W. Graham, at Richmond, Va., for the purpose of having them taken to Kentucky, at the time instructing said Graham to proceed by the way of the Ohio river. That said boys were not taken to Kentucky for the purpose of sale. That A. W. Graham, having said boys in his charge on his way from Richmond, Va. to Kentucky, came to the Ohio river, but finding it not navigable, without the express consent, or knowledge of said owners, proceeded through the State of Ohio upon the Central Ohio Railroad, and that by reason of an accident to the train of cars in which said Graham and said boys were travelling, he was detained at Cambridge, in said Guernsey County, during which detention this writ was issued and said boys were taken from his custody.

W. R. Buchanan, John Ferguson, and J. M. Bushfield, Esqrs., were counsel for the State, and S. W. White, W. R. Wagstaff, and H. J. Jewett, Esqrs., counsel for N. W. Graham, the Respondent.

The cause came up for final hearing and decision on the 21st of Dec., 1854. Before the argument commenced, the counsel for Respondent moved that the boys be brought into Court for the purpose of making their election to go with their masters, or remain, the decision of which motion was reserved by the Judge till after the argument of the case upon the main questions.

All the questions involved in the case were fully and ably argued by Messrs. Ferguson and Bushfield on behalf of the State, and W. R. Wagstaff and H. J. Jewett, on the part of the Respondent.

Judge Delong, in deciding the case, held:

1st. That the States of the American Union, upon the subject of slavery, stand as independent governments, each being sovereign within its own limits, and subject to no control, except that contemplated by the third clause of the second section, fourth article, of the Constitution of the United States, by which a person held to service or labour in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another State, shall not, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labour, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom the service or labour may be due.

2d. That the relation of master and slave does not exist upon the principle of natural and general right; that such relation is the creation of positive law, which is of no force beyond the limits and jurisdiction of that State or country in which it is enacted.

3d. By the sixth section of the thirteenth article of the Constitution of the State of Ohio, it is declared that "there shall be no slavery in this State, nor involuntary servitude, unless for the punishment of crime," from which it follows that slavery cannot exist in this State for a moment; and that when the person is not a fugitive, he and his master stand as man to man—that the master has no power or authority to control him within, or remove him without, the jurisdiction of this State.

4th. That all persons within the limits of this State, even for the shortest period, become subject to the municipal laws, civil and criminal, are entitled to all the protection which these laws afford, and this is the case be the person *white* or *black*.

5th. The third clause of the second section of the fourth article of the Constitution of the United States is the only authority for the restraint of a slave by his owner within this State, which, being a provision denying a general right, must be strictly construed.

6th. When a slave is brought into this State by his owner's agent, the agent at the time pursuing the general object of the agency, construing said clause of the Constitution of the United States strictly, the slave cannot be declared a "fugitive"—having no will of his own in the matter, but controlled by the agent in the furtherance of his agency; that if the agent, in some particular, violates the instruction given to him, it becomes a question between them, and not a question under the said fugitive clause.

7th. In cases where there is a conflict, the common law yields to the statute, and they are both superceded by constitutional law. Whatever may be the common law upon the subject of the *transit* of the property of the citizens of one State, within the jurisdiction and over the territory of another, with reference to slave property, the question is settled by the sixth section of the first article of the Constitution of this State, most clearly against such a right.

8th. That to be protected, under the claim of *necessity*, it devolves upon the Respondent to show to the Court that it was *such a necessity as entirely prevented the Respondent from exercising any, even the slightest violation;* that such proof not being made, his coming within the territorial limits of this State must be held to be *voluntary*.

Whereupon the boys were pronounced to be free from the control and power of Respondent.

The Judge was of opinion that they were too young to make the election asked for by the Respondent's motion, and overruled the same.

Whereupon, on motion of the counsel for the State, Dr. M. D. Baldridge, of Senecaville, was appointed guardian for the boys, who immediately took them into his charge.—*Cambridge Paper.*

SOME PARTICULARS OF THE LONDON ANTI-SLAVERY CONFERENCE.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Advocate:

11 Cecil Street, Strand, London,
Thursday evening, Nov. 30.

Dear Sir: I am desirous to give you some account, whilst its transactions are fresh in my memory, of the Conference just closed. At the opening yesterday there were about forty gentlemen and twelve ladies present. This number afterwards increased, and the room became pretty well filled, and continued so most of the day. At first the proceedings were dull, cold, and anything but hearty; and there was not much warmth till to-day, when the American question came up. Most of yesterday was occupied with the subjects of the West Indies and Cuba. Mr. Pillsbury made a few good and stirring remarks on the latter subject, and was not very courteously treated by the chairman, Mr. Price, of Neath, who interrupted him, and begged him to keep as much as possible to the point; and afterwards said there was no good in "railing" at America; for which implied censure there was not the shadow of a cause. In the course of the day we were shown a printed resolution on the subject of American slavery, intended to be proposed to-day. It was full and outspoken, and expressed sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society, and with the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. We thought it on the whole unexceptionable; and to a most unexpected extent satisfactory to the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society. In the afternoon, however, we were informed that Mr. Chamerovzow had drawn up that resolution without the concurrence of his committee, some of whom objected to the American Anti-Slavery Society being recognised. A meeting of the friends of the American Anti-Slavery Society, after discussing this matter, ultimately separated, with a half-formed resolution to make a formal attempt in the meeting, to get the American Anti-Slavery Society distinctly and honourably recognised. We were, however, to think over the matter, and finally decide what course to take at half-past nine this morning (the Conference assembling at ten) at the London Tavern. After a private interview with Mr. Sturge, Mr. Thompson came to us in a waiting-room, and said there was an objection on the part of the Committee to mention the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* as well as the *American Anti-Slavery Society;* that they had determined to break off their connection with the former, and that we might get all we wanted, if we would now waive our wish to get the American Anti-Slavery Society formally recognised. And he (Mr. Thompson) recommended us to agree to the wishes of the committee. Mr. Sherman was all this time speaking on the American resolution. I felt that we were in a great difficulty, and did not like to oppose Mr. Thompson's judgment. But I could not feel satisfied in my own mind, after all that he said, that it was right to adopt his recommendation. We ought not, and *need not* have been in such position as to have to come to a decision so hastily, and under such pressing circumstances. We went into the room in an undecided state. Mr. Sherman was finishing his speech, and Mr. Duncan M'Laren briefly seconded the resolution. I then rose in a state of feeling that I felt to be very painful (Mr. Cropper, of Liverpool, was in the chair), and said that I wished a clause to be incorporated with the resolution. Immediately there was great consternation at the cross table, and I heard one of the gentlemen exclaim—"He's going to do it!" I spoke of the resolution as being admirable as far as it went; but as it referred to the labours of the *senators* who upheld the anti-slavery cause in America, there were other parties who had a prior and much stronger claim on our sympathies; and then went on to speak of the American Anti-Slavery Society just as I think of it, and of the calumnies that had been industriously propagated in this country respecting it, by Americans who were the bitterest enemies of the anti-slavery cause in their own country, &c., &c.; adding, that I was quite willing to let bygones be bygones, and was prepared, should it be necessary, to meet and expose those calumnious charges in their true character; and I concluded by proposing the insertion of a clause recognising the American Anti-Slavery Society and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Mr. James followed with some observations, condematory of all sectarianism in such a movement. Mr. Sturge, the chairman, and several others urged the withdrawal of the suggestion, but all who spoke treated the proposal with respect, and studiously avoided saying a disparaging word of the American Anti-Slavery Society. I said that I felt myself in a difficult position. It had appeared in print, and was believed by many, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had repudiated the American Anti-Slavery Society. If it were declared that such was not the case, or that if such a resolution had ever been passed it has been as formally rescinded, I would cheerfully withdraw my proposal. Mr. Chamerovzow said emphatically there was no such resolution on the books. Whereupon I said, that after such a public official declaration I withdrew my amendment. Mr. Pillsbury followed in a very able speech, full of power, which was felt most sensibly by the meeting. He uttered the most radical truths, made out the churches of America to be practically "infidel," and carried, for the most part of his speech, the sympathies of the meeting with him. His home truths about the ambiguous position of the Society of Friends in the United States towards the anti-slavery cause were most effective, and given in an admirable manner. A gentleman disputed what he said about the American Board of Missions, but Mr. P. was provided with the documents, and his opponent was silenced. I thought the American Anti-Slavery Society had made considerable way, and was satisfied that the very best, under the circumstances, that could have been done, had been done. This afternoon I was sorry to find that Mr. P. was not quite satisfied, and before the meeting broke up he proposed a resolution of sympathy with the American Anti-Slavery Society. This was accompanied by another excellent speech, full of deep feeling, and one that went to the hearts of many of us. But it was impossible for Mr. James or for me to second the proposal, after the course we had taken in the morning, and it fell to the ground for want of a seconder. Mr. P., however, relieved his mind; he has awakened a new interest in many minds as